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PROCEEDINGS
AND
COLLECTIONS
OF THE
WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEARS 1927, 1928 AND 1929.

EDITED BY
FRANCES DORRANCE, Director.

VOLUME XXI.

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

THE E. B. YORDY CO.
1930.

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BY
THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND
GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

WILKES-BARRE, PENNSYLVANIA.

Organized 1858.

The Library and Museum Collections are housed in the Historical Society Building, next to the Osterhout Free Library, as provided by the will of Isaac S. Osterhout.

The library contains about 40,000 volumes and pamphlets, including United States and Pennsylvania publications; on biography, genealogy, general American and local Pennsylvania history, geology, and the American Indian. It receives many historical, ethnological and genealogical magazines. It has a large collection of rare old manuscript records and papers, early and nearly complete files of local newspapers and hundreds of photographs of local places and people. There is also a large collection of local and general maps.

The museum contains collections of 45,000 archeological, geological and ethnological objects, including the Lacoe collection of fossils, thousands of relics of the American Indian and hundreds of local antiques, furniture, household utensils, implements, relics of all American wars in which local men have served, etc. There is also a small but representative collection of local birds.

The library and museum are open to the public every week day from 10:00 a. m. to 5:00 p. m.

The Society has published twenty volumes and many pamphlets.

Lectures are given at least four times a year by noted speakers of local or national reputation. All lectures are open to the public.

The members receive all publications and privileges free.

Gifts of Indian relics, geological specimens, local antiques, photographs and particularly old papers and records of all kinds are greatly desired by the Society. Also relics of all American wars and of the European war and any articles of present or of future historic value. Loan exhibits are welcomed. They will be promptly acknowledged and carefully preserved and exhibited.

Address,

Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,

Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania.

FORM OF BEQUEST.

I give and bequeath to the "WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY," the sum of (*here state the sum to be given*), for the use of said Society absolutely.

FORM OF DEVISE.

I give and bequeath (*here describe the real estate to be given*) unto the "WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY," its successors and assigns forever.

The Society will be glad to receive any part of Volume I, and all copies of Volume XVI, that members may be willing to spare.

Library 7-6-48

PREFACE TO VOLUME XXI.

In order to bring the Proceedings of the Society up to date, it has seemed advisable to publish in this one volume the reports for 1927, 1928 and 1929.

In Volume 19, the list of officers was published in full from the organization of the Society; in Volume 20, the contents of the Proceedings and Collections were given in detail. In this volume, the list of Special Endowment Funds is brought up to date, and the By-laws, as revised in February, 1930.

The report of the Manuscript Committee of the work done by L. Walter Seegers is of particular interest, as an experiment in locating and preserving old manuscripts, which brought unexpectedly satisfactory results.

The articles comprising the body of the volume are all available in pamphlet form. They are of especial local interest, because of some local personal relation to the history of the valley, as will be seen from the table of contents.

The Ancestry of President Harding was prepared by Mrs. Clara Gardner Miller, "to give a comprehensive view and to correct some of the false records, of his near ancestors, with which the country was flooded during the years of his presidency." Mrs. Miller's residence and wide acquaintance in Clifford and the Wyoming Valley and her experience as a genealogist make the work a genuine contribution to American genealogy.

The George Catlin biography and bibliography are national in importance, the local emphasis being the fact of Catlin's birth in Wilkes-Barré.

The Addresses given by two representatives of the younger

generations, André Alden Beaumont, Jr. and Constance Reynolds, are an evidence of a persistent interest of local people in our history, which is most encouraging to those who work constantly in that field.

The Essays of Poor Robert, the Scribe, contain among others, the original story of "an axe to grind", written by our well-known historian, Charles Miner; though at one time attributed to Benjamin Franklin.

As the collected volume of essays has long been unavailable and we have been able to locate fewer than a half dozen existing copies of the original, reprinting this interesting material seemed very advisable. The subject matter, literary style and general interest of these essays are such, that the editors are considering the latter publication of a facsimile limited edition.

Suggestions of material suitable for publication in succeeding volumes will be much appreciated.

FRANCES DORRANCE,

ERNESTINE MARTIN KAEHLIN,

JULIAN P. BOYD,

WILLIAM N. SCHANG,

Publishing Committee.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PREFACE	i
CONTENTS	iii
ILLUSTRATIONS	v
PROCEEDINGS	vii
PRESIDENT'S REPORT FOR 1927.....	vii
TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1927.....	xviii
PRESIDENT'S REPORT FOR 1928.....	xx
TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1928.....	xxxii
PRESIDENT'S REPORT FOR 1929.....	xxxiv
REPORT OF MANUSCRIPT COMMITTEE.....	xlvi
TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1929.....	li
SECURITIES LIST	liii
SPECIAL AND ENDOWMENT FUNDS.....	lv
OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1930.....	lx
NECROLOGY	lxi
ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP.....	lxviii
BY-LAWS AS REVISED, 1930.....	lxxviii
ANCESTRY OF PRESIDENT HARDING IN RELATION TO THE HARDING'S OF WYOMING VALLEY AND CLIF- FORD, PA., by Clara Gardiner Miller.....	1-46
AMERICAN ANCESTRY OF SILENCE WASHBURN, by Wil- liam Tilden Stauffer.....	47-62
THE CATLIN POWDER HORN.....	63-67
INDIAN LOVING CATLIN, by Marion Annette Evans....	68-82
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CATLIN'S WORKS, by William Harvey Miner	83-97
NON-MARINE SHELLS OF UPPER CARBONIFEROUS ROCKS OF NORTH AMERICA, by John H. Davies..	98-106

STUDENT AT PARIS IN THE 13TH CENTURY, by André Alden Beaumont, Jr.	107-27
EARLY AMERICAN SNOBS, by Dixon Ryan Fox.....	128-55
MARKET STREET BRIDGES AT WILKES-BARRÉ, Pa., by Constance Reynolds	156-80
JACOB RICE OF TRUCKSVILLE, by Kenneth Dann Magruder	181-88
ESSAYS FROM DESK OF POOR ROBERT THE SCRIBE, with foreword by J. P. Boyd.....	189-289
INDEX	291

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Lewis Harlow Taylor.....	frontispiece
Petition for the erection of Nicholson Town- ship	facing page 27
Harding family illustration (1).....	" " 30
Harding family illustration (2).....	" " 31
Catlin powder horn.....	" " 63
Engravings on Catlin powder horn.....	" " 64
Buffalo chase	65
Red Jacket	66
George Catlin, autographed portrait.....	facing page 68
George Catlin: aet. 28.....	" " 70
Catlin painting chief.....	72
Group of Iowa Indians.....	facing page 74
George Catlin: aet. 45.....	" " 76
George Catlin, circa 1845.....	" " 78
George Catlin, in 1849.....	" " 80
Tomb of Mrs. Catlin.....	82
George Catlin: aet. 72.....	facing page 82
Non-Marine shells—Figs. 1, 2.....	99
Non-Marine shells—Figs. 3-6.....	102
Non-Marine shells—Figs. 7-11.....	104
View of Wilkes-Barre, 1840.....	facing page 156
View of Wilkes-Barre, 1889.....	" " 156
Seal of Bridge Co.....	" " 161
Bridge built, 1820.....	" " 161

Bridge replacing first bridge.....	facing page	169
Wooden toll gate house.....	"	169
Bridge, 1826-1892	"	172
Market Street, about 1885.....	"	172
Steel bridge	"	173
Concrete bridge	"	176
Proposal for publication of Essays of Poor Robert, the Scribe.....	"	189
Facsimile of cover of Essays of Poor Robert, the Scribe	"	195

REPORTS AND COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Wyoming Historical and Geological Society

Volume XXI

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.

1930

PRESIDENT'S REPORT FOR 1927

Each year brings to the work of the Society, some new impetus to growth, some new opportunity to widen its value in the community and in the field of Pennsylvania history. The announcement, at this time of the Sesqui-Centennial, of a gift of \$25,000.00 for the publishing of manuscript records, maps and other papers relating to the early settlement of "Wyoming" has a double significance. The gift is made as a memorial to Sheldon Reynolds, to whom the Society owes much of its long and splendid record and comes as a semi-centennial tribute to the months of continuous work he and Dr. Harrison Wright spent in preparing the collections of the Society for the centennial celebration of the Battle of Wyoming, followed by years of interested direction of its development into one of the leading historical societies of the country. As Secretary and as President of the Society, Mr. Reynolds was untiring in his efforts to increase the collections of the Society, to establish its policy of efficient and scientific methods and to win it wide recognition. There could be no better memorial, nor a more significant time for establishing it than this sesqui-centennial anniversary of the first epochal event in our local history.

This fund will provide for the photostatting of the hundreds of manuscript records now in the possession of the Society, pertaining to the purchase and settlement of the region, those personally owned locally and those in various other historical societies and libraries, all of whom express great eagerness to participate in thus making available for research many papers as yet unstudied. The information on these photostats will then be transcribed and typewritten and the entire material edited by some historian of national reputation. The finished work will be suitably published and illustrated with facsimiles of the most important papers.

At least, two other opportunities for similar memorials open before us; first comes the need of the preservation of

the early wills, deeds, and other local records lying unprotected and uncared for in the court houses at Easton, Sunbury and even here in Wilkes-Barre, where the disordered condition of the very oldest papers is distressing. These papers are of extreme value for our local history; those at Easton being the earliest, for the time when all this region was part of Northampton County; those at Sunbury for the following years, before Luzerne County was set off from Northumberland County, and then those here, up to the time when systematic registration of such invaluable papers was begun. The preservation of these papers and their publication would make available for all time the historical sources of the greatest developmental period of our history.

Second only to this would come the need to preserve the history of anthracite coal mining, our basic industry, to preserve all records of its development, and to collect the various types of tools, machinery, in models, photographs and originals, where possible, for elucidating and preserving the history of the greatest factor in our economic development.

The growth in the work of our Society in the past year has been steady and its value to the community has been given wide recognition. This recognition has been three-fold, an increase of seventy in the membership of the Society, of which sixteen are new life members; the unprecedented value of the gifts; and the appointment of the Director of the Society to the State Historical Commission by Governor Fisher.

The increase in membership is particularly encouraging in a year when the loss by death has cost the Society the interested co-operation of such able and important people as Mr. and Mrs. George Reynolds Bedford, both life members; Edwin Swift Balch of Philadelphia and Mrs. George Shoemaker, both benefactors; Charles E. Clift, a Sustaining annual member; and Douglas Bunting, Harry French and Frank Hopper, all annual members. Each one has been an outstanding personality in the community and the type of member who gives the work of the Society foundations for permanent growth.

The list of donors to the Society in the past year showing the variety and extent of interest is appended to this report, because brief mention can be made of only the most important gifts.

Of the books given us two are of outstanding interest—a ten volume Life of Washington given by James B. Scott, and the Historic Highways, sixteen volumes, the gift of Mrs. John M. Garman.

One instance of co-operation and interest was the gift to the Society of Burgess's splendid book "Virginia Soldiers of 1776", by the Wyoming Valley Chapter, D. A. R. Another valuable genealogical aid is a Civil War Roster given by Mrs. D. W. Dodson. The following are of special local value: An old autograph application of school teacher in 1837, given by Miss Minnie Dilley; a paper with the signatures of Judges and Lawyers of Luzerne County about 1858, given by Mrs. B. H. Foster—from the papers of her father David C. Harrington; a Revolutionary War rifle given by John Laning, which was used by his ancestor, John Coryell; Mrs. Irving O. Hunt has given a number of copies of the doctoral thesis of her sister, Miss Sara Stites, on the Iroquois Indians; Edward Welles photographed three of the old houses in the valley—thus making a valuable addition to our collection of old local photographs, which we so much want to enlarge; of the same interest were the sixty-six stereoscopic views of local scenes given by Miss Annie B. Wren. Through the kindness of E. A. Wakeman, the Pennsylvania Power and Light Company has presented to the Society "the first electric lighting generator" to be used in the Valley. It made the power for the four first arc lights, placed at the corners of the Square, and first lighted for the Garfield-Hancock parade on October 30, 1880. Most interesting material on Frances Slocum, with photographs of men connected with the finding of the lost sister, has been given by J. Bennett Phelps of Binghamton.

Thomas Santee has added some old records to our already extensive collection on local records, the greatest source of local history. Of great interest connected with the material on our County is a letter from the Chevalier de la Luzerne, while Minister from France to the United States, given by Gilbert S. McClintock.

The most outstanding gift of the whole year is the old manuscript—Kingston Proprietor's book of 1790—given the Society by Mrs. W. G. Harding. In connection with the publication of all early local manuscripts, this book now has a very especial interest added to its great value.

The connection of the Society with the State Commission

will link our work with the main lines of interest in Pennsylvania History. The plan is to divide the State into six regions, to form an advisory historical board in each region, with the member of the commission as head of that section, the board members to be appointed from the most representative historians in each county. Through the Advisory Board, information will be secured as to needed lines of historical undertaking in the State; names of interested persons; historians of ability and experience; possibilities of collecting and preserving records, historical data and material, now scattered and unavailable. In a word, the plan promises the promotion and preservation of Pennsylvania historical sources.

The book collection of the Society has been greatly increased during the year through the proceeds of the sale of duplicates and the Society's publications, by means of a book list printed and distributed early in 1927. Yet this increase has been doubled by the number of books given the Society, fully fifty per cent. of those accessioned having been contributions. About five hundred have been catalogued, which with 1954 federal documents and 94 State documents received make 2546 acquisitions during the year. Of those catalogued, the various interests of the Society were proportionately represented as shown by the following figures:

History	49
Local History	87
Genealogy	87
Indians	37
Biography	30
Hist. Exchanges	48

Among the books accessioned are:

HISTORICAL.

Leffert: Uniforms of American, British, French and German Armies. War of American Revolution, 1775-83.

Bowen: History of Woodstock, Conn.

Chase: Syracuse and its Environs, three vols.

Folson: Municipalities of Essex County, N. J., 1666-1924, four vols.

Hayner: Troy and Rensselaer County, N. Y., three vols.

Donehoo: Pennsylvania, a history, seven vols.

Harlow: Old Towpaths.

Earle: Two Centuries of Costume in America.

Woodson: Free Negro Heads of Families in U. S., 1830.

Spayne : Tales of Old Boston.

New York State : Papers of Sir William Johnson, five vols.

McClellan : Historic Dress in America, two vols.

Paxson : Where Pennsylvania history began.

GENEALOGICAL.

Armstrong : Notable Southern Families, two vols.

Winchell : Winchell Genealogy.

Scotch-Irish Society : The Scotch-Irish of Northampton Co., Pa.

Van Norden : South Salem Gravestone Inscription.

South Salem Soldiers and Sailors.

New Jersey Archives, seven vols.

Barber : Wright-Chamberlin Genealogy.

Carruth : Carruth Genealogy.

Flint : Biographical memoir of Daniel Boone.

Davis : War of 1812.

Seales : Clements Family.

Long : Long Genealogy.

Maxwell : Minear Genealogy.

Holmes : Descendants of Josiah Burton.

Harrington : Harrington Family in America.

MacDougall : Scots and Scots descendants in America.

Blake : History of Putnam County, N. Y.

Janes : Janes Family.

D. A. R. : Lineage books, five vols.

Diffenderffer : German Immigration into Pennsylvania.

Nottingham : Marriage License Bonds—Accomack Co., Va.,

1774-1806.

Deming : Genealogy of John Deming.

Jacobs : Pardee Genealogy.

Burgess : Virginia Soldiers of 1776.

Bassette : Bassett Family in America.

Gilmer : Sketches of some of the first settlers in Georgia.

Storer : Storer Genealogy.

Bolton : Bolton's American Armory.

Weis : Descendants of Daniel Weis.

Gilmore : Gilmore Ancestry.

GEOLOGICAL.

Geology of Alabama.

Behre : Slate of Northampton County, Pa.

Katz : Mineral Resources—U. S.

Brown : Archaeology of Mississippi.

Maryland Geological Survey, five vols.

U. S. Dept. of Agriculture: Field Operations of the Bureau of Soils.

Hardy: The A. B. C. of Geology.

AMERICAN INDIAN.

Seymour: The Indians of To-day.

Harvey: History of Shawnee Indians, 1681-1854.

Moorehead: Primitive Man in Ohio.

Starr: History of the Cherokee Indians.

Spence: Myths and Legends of North American Indians.

Bushnell: Burials of the Algonquians.

Oytasita: The Soul of the American Indian.

Tooker: The Algonquian Series, ten vols.

The Society was given the local sale of "Daily Stories of Pennsylvania" by the author, Frederic A. Godcharles, State Librarian, and through circular letters, has been able to sell many copies, securing thereby a tidy addition to the book fund.

The number of visitors during the past year was 6,472. Of these 525 were research students. The Society still needs wider publicity, through exhibits, reports of work, offers of assistance, etc., in order to bring the efficiency of its service to the maximum. One much desired method of increase in the use of the museum is through the work with schools. Seventeen classes visited the building, during the year, averaging 23 pupils. It is planned to send special invitations to the schools for the latter half of the school year, to put posters in the school buildings and generally to strengthen the connection between the museum and the school work. This can be systematically done only with a special assistant, to work with the children on Friday afternoon and Saturdays as soon as an increase of the general endowment makes this possible.

We are now within twelve thousand of the goal of fifty thousand dollars needed to make available Mr. Nesbitt's securities left in trust for this purpose. When this income becomes available, many dreams will be realized.

The lectures given under the auspices of the Society were interesting and well attended. They were as follows:

January 10—George K. Cherrie, "With the Roosevelts in Central Asia."

February 4—George Grant MacCurdy, "The Dawn of art and prehistoric man."

March 18—Annual meeting—Alden Beaumont, “The University Student of the 13th Century.”

November 21—Wallace Nutting, “The Colonial house and its furnishings.”

The Director of the Society made the following reports and addresses during the year:

January 12. Address before Society of Pennsylvania Women in New York City on “Indian Survey of Pennsylvania.”

February 14. Talk at Town Hill, Pa., on “Indians of Pennsylvania.”

February 15. Address before Frankford, Pa., Historical Society, on “Indian Survey.”

February 18. Talk to G. A. R. High School, Wilkes-Barre, on “Local History.”

February 28. Talk to G. A. R. High School, Wilkes-Barre, on “Pennsylvania Indians.”

March 25. Report to Central Section of the American Anthropological Association, at University of Chicago, on “Indian Survey of Pennsylvania.”

March 29. Address to Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, on “Indian Survey.”

April 15. Report to Pennsylvania Academy of Science meeting, on “Indian Survey of Pennsylvania.”

May 10. Address before Lackawanna County Historical Society, Scranton, on “Romance of Local History.”

May 12. Address before Wayne County Historical Society, Honesdale, on “Local history and how to preserve it.”

May 26. Wyoming Monumental Association—Address on “Pennsylvania Indians.”

August 11. Y. M. C. A. Girl’s Camp. “Wyoming Valley Local History.”

September 13. Address before Northumberland Historical Society, on “Indian Survey.”

November 5. Address before Berwick Chapter, D. A. R., and Columbia County Historical Society at Berwick, on “Indian Survey.”

The above show the wide interest being taken throughout the country in the Indian Survey, and the following report of progress can now be made. The appointment of the Director to the State Historical Commission is the outcome of our attempt to put a Bill through the Legislature establishing a Commission for the direction of the Survey and carrying an appropriation. The Bill was unanimously passed in the Senate and was about to be presented to the House, when

notice was received that the work had been included under the Commission by the revised Code, and provision made in the general appropriations bill. By appointing the Director of this Society to the Commission, Governor Fisher registered his interest in the archaeological research. The Survey can now be made under the Commission, in so far as its powers lie, to be extended by the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, as voted at the annual meeting in January.

As Curator of local archaeology, William J. Robbins has presented an interesting report of his work, in investigations and talks, together with some local Indian mythology, obtained from old Mohawk Indians.

In addition to regular assistance in historical and genealogical work, the special work of the Society has been quite interesting. Opportunity for co-operation with local interests came in historical tableaux in the schools; the lending of exhibits to different organizations; for example, some snake skins for an exhibit of shoemaking; old photographs of Wilkes-Barre, for another exhibit; coal specimens, implements, etc., for a newspaper window; cuts for different publications of patriotic and other societies; pictures and other material for sesqui-centennial publicity. Upon request, several especially interesting coal fossils were sent to Wales for illustrating lectures, with which some other fossils and some publications were sent back.

Co-operation with the playgrounds was continued, the interest in Sitting Bull showing a great increase over that of the preceding year; the community calendar has come to stay in the minds of Society officials throughout the community, family reunions send in reports; information for the Sullivan Trail motorcade was asked for. All in all, the public recognition of the possibility of help from the Society is most encouraging.

This recognition could not have been secured, if the local newspapers had not generously given the work of the Society interested co-operation and generous space assignments. Deep appreciation of this is hereby recorded.

With the coming of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Wyoming, which through annihilating the Wyoming settlement, established it securely in the history of the State and country for all time, every loyal citizen of the Wyoming Valley should make this year an outstanding one in the progress and development of the community.

GIFTS IN 1927.

BOOKS RECEIVED FROM:

- Allen, W. G.
 Averill, Rev. E. W.
 Bass, Florence
 Bassett, Josiah Colby
 Beard, Charles A.
 Beck, James M.
 Billings, W. E.
 Bingham Association
 Bolles, Stephen
 Brown, Ella W.
 Carruth, Arthur Jay
 Clawson, Cortez R.
 Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church
 Cook, William Wilson
 Davidson, Percy E.
 Davis, Brig. Gen. Wm. C.
 Davis, W. G.
 Dett, Robert Nathaniel
 Diller, Dr. Theodore
 Dilley, Oscar H.
 Dilley, Sherman A., 22 vols.
 Dillon, Arthur O.
 Dorrance, Anne, 4 vols.
 Dorrance, Frances, 2 vols.
 Doub & Company
 Dow, Mrs. Joy Wheeler
 Drysdale, Alexander
 Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt
 Dunn, Mrs. E. T., 2 vols.
 Durland, Frank
 Fell, John M.
 Folsom, Ida M.
 Garman, Mrs. John M., 16 vols.
 Gemmill, Hon. Wm. N.
 Gooch, Frank Austin
 Griswold, B. H.
 Guttridge, George Herbert
 Hardy, A.
 Hastings, Mary E.
 Hillard, O. C., 2 vols.
 Hillman, Mrs. Frederick
 Hinsdale, Wilbert B., 3 vols.
 Holthusen, Henry F.
 Howe, Rev. H. Sturdevant
 Huffmaster, James C., 3 vols.
 Hughes, Rupert
 Hunt, Lea, 14 vols.
 Janjigian, Dr. Jessie
 Joslyn, Mrs. Malinda, 7 vols.
 Kansas City Public Service Inst.
- Kiel, Herman G.
 Larew, Ada Campbell
 Lester, J. William
 Lindenstruth, Rev. L., 3 vols.
 Loveland, Charles N., 4 vols.
 Ludington, C. H.
 McCants, E. C.
 McGlynn, Zita E.
 Magruder, Frank Abbott
 Magruder, K. D.
 Maine State Library
 Major, Montgomery W.
 Mathews, E. B.
 Maxwell, Charles
 Meredith, Grace E.
 Mumford, Lewis
 Native Sons of British Columbia
 Norris, Mrs. R. V., 4 vols.
 Nystrom, A. J. & Co.
 Orchard, John E.
 Oytasita, (Leroy Keleher)
 Pardee, Israel P.
 Village Board of Kenmore, Erie
 County, N. Y.
 Parks, Mrs. A. L., 2 vols.
 Patsenki, Mrs. Julia Thomas
 Pershing, Edgar J.
 Philadelphia Board of Publications
 of United Lutheran Church in
 America
 Phillips, Edith
 Pollard, A. F.
 Potter, John E.
 Read, George Willis
 Reynolds, Col. Dorrance
 Ridgway, George C.
 Robinson, Elizabeth, 14 vols.
 University of Rochester
 Rush, Sylvester R.
 Russell, Phillips
 Schrader, Dr. Frederick Franklin
 Scott, James B., 10 vols.
 Scott, James K. P.
 Seabury, Samuel
 Sellers, Edwin Jaquett
 Sinnett, Rev. Chas. N.
 Spargo, John
 Strassburger, R. B.
 Strauss, Meyer, 12 vols.
 Stocking, Amer Mills

- Storer, Malcolm
 Streeter, Hilda E.
 Sutphen, Van Tassel
 Tappan, Eva March
 Van Norden, Theodore Langdon, 2 vols.
 Ward, Duren J. H.
 Weis, Rev. Frederick Lewis
 Welles, Lemuel A.
 Wenrich, C. F.
- Wesley, Charles H.
 Whipple, Leon
 Widsoe, Dr. John A.
 Wilkes-Barre Administration Bldg., 3 vols.
 Wilkes-Barre Record, 71 vols.
 Williams, Charles Richard, 13 vols.
 Wilson, J.
 Yager, Willard E.

PAMPHLETS.

- Allen, G. W.
 Bartol, Mrs. W. C.
 Burgin, Dr. Herman
 Callaway, Edwin B.
 Catholic Univ. of America
 Glen Falls Chamber of Commerce
 Coal Service Co.
 Davies, John H.
 Dennis, J. F.
 Fox, Dixon Ryan
 Harrington, Charles M.
 Hebard, Grace Raymond
 Hunt, Mrs. Irving O.
 Jackson, Margaret
 Jochelson, Waldemar
 Joselyn, Mrs. Malinda
- Knox, Capt. D. W.
 Lindenstruth, Rev. L.
 Magruder, K. D.
 Odell, D. Elliott
 Ottawa Dept. of the Interior.
 Owens, E. J.
 Pan-American Union
 Randolph, Howard S. F.
 Scott, John Albert
 Shoemaker, Jane A.
 Shoemaker, Col. H. W.
 Solomon, Erskine L.
 Tanner, Virginia
 Tower, Elizabeth A.
 Wilkes-Barre Record

NEWSPAPERS AND CLIPPINGS.

- Ash, Harry
 Bossler, John
 Brown, Eleanor N.
 Cook, Charles F.
 Fenstermaker, G. B.
- Grissinger, M. W.
 Hammond, Mrs. A. G.
 Howe, Mrs. Lyman H.
 Lindenstruth, Rev. L.
 Solomon, E. L.

PORTRAITS, VIEWS AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

- Guthrie, Dr. Malcolm
 Halterman, Mrs. William
 Ryman, Mrs. Leslie
 Shoemaker, Jane A.
 Smith, H. S.
- Strauss, Meyer
 Welles, Edward
 William Clements Library
 Wren, Annie B.

MONEY AND MEDALS.

- Baltimore & Ohio Railroad
 Houser, Florence
 Schooley, H. B.
- Simmers, John W.
 Strauss, Meyer

SPECIAL SERVICE.

- Boston Store: Labeling window cards and posters for lectures.
 Chase, S. C.: Work of carpenters.
 Miller, Harry C.: 3 affidavits.
 Roth, Harry: Gift of electric desk lamp.
 Shepherd & Rust: Loan of vacuum cleaner.
 Stewart, T. B.: Loan of lantern slides for lectures.
 Wagner, Spencer: Arranging gun collection in Museum cases.
 Wyoming National Bank: Use of addressograph.

SPECIAL LOCAL INTEREST.

Dilley, Minnie	McClintock, Gilbert S.
Dodson, Margaret C.	Phelps, J. Bennett
Downing, Martha L.	Robbins, M. G.
Foster, Mrs. B. Harrington	Santee, Thomas
Harding, Mrs. W. G.	Von Krug, Rev. Ferdinand
Hillard, Josephine and Lord Butler	

MUSEUM ARTICLES.

Ayars, Mrs. Shepherd: Four Indian relics.
 Davies, John H.: Twelve Fossils.
 Dietrick, Joseph: Eight Indian relics.
 Dougherty, Gene: One pestle—Indian relic.
 Edgar, Martha J.: Oakum from "Old Ironsides."
 Fell, John: Old waffle iron.
 Foster, Mrs. C. D.: Many museum articles.
 Guthrie, Dr. Malcolm: Basket of mineral specimens.
 Hammond, Mrs. A. G.: Razor in case, pocket book, two
 reels.
 Harvey, Mary: Seven museum articles.
 Hillman, Edward D.: Indian Drum.
 Kaehlin, Ernestine M.: Cherokee Indian pot.
 Kleeman, Mrs. Peter: A yarn wreath and a coat and vest.
 Landis, Mrs. J. B.: Sitting Bull's knife scabbard.
 Laning, John: Revolutionary War rifle.
 Loveland, Charles N.: Hand carved knife, in case.
 Loveland, Josephine: Children's box of sealing wax and
 wafers.
 McCabe, Mrs. William T.: Strap, powder can, shot bag,
 and wads.
 Pease, Helen: Museum articles.
 Pennsylvania Power and Light Co.: Electric Lighting
 Generator and its history.
 Pickwell, Frederick: Stuffed dog and owl.
 Post, Charles A.: An old iron pot-stand for fireplace.
 Robinson, Mabel F.: Civil War relic.
 Solomon, Erskine L.: Coal Fossil.
 Sugden, William: Samples of Lancashire Clogs.
 Young, Thomas: Old key.
 Zerbey, Frederic E.: Coal Fossil.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

For year ending December 31, 1927.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on Hand—January 1, 1927.

Check Account	\$126.48
Savings Account	\$517.63 \$ 644.11

GENERAL INCOME.

Sale of books	1,019.33
Genealogical services	5.50
Income from investments.....	8,020.30
Luzerne County appropriation.....	200.00
Membership dues	1,880.00
Sale of old paper	3.20
	—————\$ 11,772.44

SPECIAL RECEIPTS.

Investment Account	\$12,137.22
Rent from Institute Bldg.....	759.62
	————— 12,896.84
	————— \$ 24,669.28

EXPENDITURES.

GENERAL.

Addresses	\$ 60.00
*Sale of books	1,019.33
Books purchased	97.00
General expense	118.37
Incidentals	208.00
Insurance	190.50
Photostats, etc.	8.00
Periodicals	71.60
Postage	160.42
Society memberships	49.50
Supplies	221.45
Telephone	93.95
Printing	4.00
	—————\$ 2,302.12

*Receipts from sale of books transferred to Miss Dorrance for book purchase fund.

SALARIES	5,470.34
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SPECIAL FUNDS.

Binding—Hunlock Fund	\$ 120.90
Butler Fund	100.00
Coxe Publication Fund	91.00
Hayden Fund	75.00
Interest on Special Funds.....	300.00
Miner Fund	125.00
Susquehanna Papers	<u>76.60</u>
	888.50

INSTITUTE BUILDING.

Interest on Institute Building.....	\$ 4,395.00
Expense	<u>99.98</u>
	4,494.98

Balance on hand, December 31, 1927.

Check Account	\$ 128.77
Savings Account	<u>11,384.67</u>
	11,513.44
	<u>\$ 24,669.28</u>

PRESIDENT'S REPORT FOR 1928

The past year has been one of unusual interest and activity for the Society. In addition to the regular work which made marked progress, much time was given the preparations for the Sesqui-Centennial of the "Battle of Wyoming" which effected and enthused the work for most of the year. To have helped put through such a celebration was a most stimulating experience for individuals and local organizations, of which the Historical Society was necessarily the main spring.

The thrills and trials, the hurried excitement, the consultations and planning, the searching for data and illustrative objects which kept every member of the staff on the qui vive from April to July, 1928, at times reached such a point of tension that it was a question of laughing, or going insane. We laughed !

There was great satisfaction in being able to suggest suitable subjects for many of the floats of the Fourth of July parade, and to find photographs and descriptions which carried out the details. Entire days were spent going over the Book of the Pageant, adding a sentence or an act, correcting a date, locating pertinent facts and characters. The exhibit cases were ransacked for material desired by the shops for window display. Lazarus Brothers featured Frances Slocum with her portrait, portraits of her two daughters and sons-in-law, articles pertaining to her Indian life and Mrs. Phelps' delightful book; the Globe Store had a full Indian window; Pomeroy's used photographs of old buildings and scenes for an interesting exhibit, and there were many others in stores scattered throughout the valley.

For the Women's Activities exhibit, in which was shown the life of the women of the Valley from the Pioneer days through the Post Colonial and Victorian periods to the modern development of civic work, the Historical Society not only furnished many of the articles used in each period but actually the building, for the old "Wilkes-Barre Institute", owned by the Society, was the scene of great activity of many women for two months, culminating in the crowds during the week of the celebration who pushed their way through the wide halls to see the ladies and children of former days occupying and using their best furniture, dishes, glass, etc.

While most of these people were women and children of the Valley, the pioneer cabin and the banquet given Louis Phillippe were animated by wonderful portrait figures made by Mrs. Elizabeth Denison French. The historical exactness and success of the project were due to the careful, efficient work of Mrs. Burr Miller, chairman, and her large, interested Committee of faithful workers.

The staff of the Historical Society worked tirelessly with no thought of reward. But reward has come in many ways. First, the Society's float "Algonquin Pottery Makers", designed and executed by Mr. W. J. Robbins, took second prize in the historical section of the parade. This prize of \$150.00 covered the cost of the float and made possible the purchase of a rare and valuable three volume work on the American Indian.

Many a student coming from near or far to look up ancestors by name or deed, brought in family traditions or stories which added greatly to the Society's collection of local history.

The publicity given the Society and its treasures has led to renewed general interest in its work which should bear results for years to come. The immediate effect was apparent in a thirty per cent. increase in attendance over the year 1927. The statistics are 8,389 visitors, approximately half being children and more than half of the remainder, men. Nearly 500 students came to work during the year. Many who came to ask assistance did not stop even to write their names so that doubtless this does not represent the entire use of the Society. The school classes visiting the building during the year numbered 20.

One of the permanent rewards illustrates the possibility for future growth. The two rooms representing the pioneer bed room and kitchen of the Women's Activities exhibit have been left practically intact waiting for the Society to open and use the Institute building. Other exhibits can be made in the other rooms, loan exhibits could bring into public view treasures of historic value privately owned if the Society could afford to administer the building. At present, meeting the interest on the mortgage under which the building is held is more than the Society's income makes possible. Fortunately, the trustees of the Nesbitt securities, held for the Society's completion of the Nesbitt endowment fund, have lent the income for application on the mortgage interest. The

remainder is taken from funds which should be expended otherwise. If the building could be paid for by gift or subscriptions the interest of the Nesbitt fund would give the Society an adequate income to administer the buildings and increase the Society's work, thereby relieving the present double burden of lack of space and lack of funds. The present congested conditions prevent systematic arrangement and lead to great loss of time and efficiency. If the coming year could see this accomplished it would mark the opening of a new era.

There is now adequate staff to make possible the expansion into this new building. Some of the collections could logically be carried over there, leaving space for the remainder to spread out and be suitably arranged. Mr. Boyd, editor of the Susquehanna Papers under the Sheldon Reynolds Memorial Fund could be moved to the Institute and with his assistants give adequate supervision, while carrying on their work. All that is needed is the appearance of fairy god-parents with a purse of gold, or check book.

The work on the Susquehanna papers is progressing rapidly. Mr. Boyd, a graduate of Duke University and instructor at the University of Pennsylvania, took up the work July 1st. He has located and had photostats made of hundreds of papers relating to the settlement of this region at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Historical Society, Harvard, Yale, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Tioga Point Museum and in private collections. These total approximately 5,000 sheets, and, together with the 2,000 photostats of manuscript records already in the Society's possession, are being transcribed and checked for accuracy.

The Indian Survey has developed into a project of State-wide importance and recognition. The Governor has endorsed it in letters of introduction to prominent Pennsylvanians given the director of the Society, who is secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission and chairman of the Indian Survey Committee of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies. The Historical Commission is sponsoring the ethnological research under the University of Pennsylvania; the work of Mrs. Alanson Skinner who, working at the Society building, has carried out the preliminary survey of the State as well as research in Seneca traditions and customs at the reservation at Quaker Bridge, New York; it

will also support educational and publicity work on the survey throughout the State. By means of 5,000 letters, inquiry has been made of individuals and organizations and within the first four weeks more than 700 replies were received. The information thus received is gratifying in its indications of the wealth of material to be found but alarming in reports of extensive, indiscriminate digging. Unless directed by scientists this will destroy much of the evidences of Indian life still obtainable. Consequently, the need of funds for field work is imperative so that archaeologists may be secured to begin work throughout the State with the opening of spring. More fairy god-parents needed !

Another project of the Historical Commission is the sesquicentennial of the Sullivan Expedition. The director of this Society is chairman of the Committee under the Commission which is to co-operate with New York and New Jersey to observe suitably the route and events of that expedition, which is considered to have been one of the most strategic of Washington's plans.

In the annals of the Society, the past year has seen progress in all the lines of activity. The community calendar has found its place in the minds of those planning public entertainments. There were 28 genealogical inquiries answered by correspondence in addition to the many visiting students and to much genealogical and local historical information given over the telephone. Letters to officers of family reunions have brought in several family genealogies.

There has been a small increase in the membership of the Society. These 7 new life members and 18 annual members offset the bitter losses brought by death. The two greatest losses are those of faithful officers, Dr. Lewis H. Taylor, first vice-president and benefactor and Mr. Isaac M. Thomas, trustee; and three life members, Mr. Harry F. Stern, Mrs. Robert P. Brodhead and Mrs. Martha Sharpe Tucker; five annual members, Mrs. George Bennett, Mr. George T. Dickover, Mr. Harry French, Dr. Granville T. Matlack and Mr. Robert V. A. Norris.

Only one line of work apparently did not show progress and this is the number of books catalogued, being four-fifth of the number received last year. One adequate reason for this is the fact that time usually spent on this work was given to the sesqui-centennial demands, another equally good reason

is that the repeated absences of the director for Historical Commission meetings and work, throw the responsibility of the position and much of the work upon Miss Kaehlin, the librarian. Another reason, is the increased amount of genealogical research stimulated by the sesqui-centennial.

Of the 395 books catalogued nearly half were received by gift and nearly the other half through exchange so that only 56 were actual purchases. This is approximately all that can be purchased with the limited book fund, augmented however it may be, by the sale of publications and duplicates. The government documents received this year from the State and Federal governments, 100 and 1,836 respectively, are approximately the same as in 1927.

The following lists are indicative of the types of books added to the Society's library during the year:

AMERICAN HISTORY.

- Allen: Naval songs and ballads.
White: Scout Journals 1725.
Gemmill: Romantic America.
Streeter: Historic Cherry Valley.
Lewin: Newark 1660-1776-1926.
Quaife: John Askin Papers 1747-95.
Deweese: The Molly Maguires.
Lucy: The Molly Maguires of Penna. Or, Ireland in America.

GENEALOGY—AMERICAN, SCOTCH AND ENGLISH.

- Sellers: De Carpenter Allied Ancestry.
Armstrong: Kirkpatrick, Capt. John of N. J. 1732-1922.
Kelly: Kelly and Simpson families of New Hampshire.
Hill: Genealogy of Isaac Hill.
Brockman: Genealogy of Hume, Kennedy and Brockman families.
Brumbaugh: Maryland Records, Colonial and Revolutionary Col. Church.
Hirsch: Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina.
Baldwin: New England Clergy & the American Revolution.
Lewis: Minute Men and other patriots of Walpole, Mass.
Briggs: History and genealogy of the Cabot family.
Stocking: History and genealogy of the Knowltons of England and America.
Pomeroy: Pomeroy genealogy.

INDIAN BOOKS.

- Belden: Indian Peace Medals.
Kinan: The Iroquois; A history of the Six Nations.
Garland: Book of the American Indian.
Wood: Lives of famous Indian chiefs.
Mercer: Lenape: Lenape stone, or the Indian and the Mammoth.
Boas: Handbook of American Indian languages.
Skinner: Indians of greater New York.
McEntosh: Origin of the North American Indians.
Eggleslon: Brant and Red Jacket.
Brooks: Story of the American Indian.

GEOLOGY AND COAL.

- Dept. of Commerce: Mineral Resources. U. S. 1924.
Roberts: Anthracite coal industry.
Shaw: Fire clays of Pennsylvania.
Green: Coal and Coal Mines.
Bogen: Anthracite railroads.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- Dept. of Commerce: Merchant Vessels, U. S.
United States Navy: Ship and gunnery drills.
White: The First Hague Conference.
Ludy: Historic Hotels of the World.
Johnson: The Medal Collector.
Gordon: Flags of the World—Past and Present.
The lectures given under the auspices of the Society during 1928, above the average in interest and value, were as follows:
January 20. Clarence Chamberlin. "My Trans-Atlantic Flight."
February 6. Frederic Cardin. Lecture-Recital on "American Indian Music."
February 20. Annual Meeting. Randolph G. Adams "British Headquarters Papers of the American Revolution."
March 10. Arthur Pillsbury, "Slow Motion Picture of Opening Flowers."
March 30. Marguerite Harrison, "Grass." Motion pictures with personal account.
April 27. E. W. Parker, "Economic Progress of Anthracite."
November 26. Col. Philip Moore, "Tales and Trails of the Rockies."

December 9. Arthur S. Coggeshall, "Hunting Big Game in the Rocks."

The Director of the Society spoke on the following dates and subjects:

February 18. Phalanx Club—Y. M. C. A. "Local History."

March 8. Kiwanis Club. "Local History."

April 13. Business Girls' Club, Y. M. C. A. "Local History."

May 15. Plymouth Civic Club Banquet. "Local History."

May 23. Towanda Public Library. "Importance of collecting local historical material."

October 22. Rotary Club at Kane, Pa. "Work of Historical Commission."

November 19. College Women's Club. "Indian Survey."

December 10. Harrisburg. Broadcasting on "Pennsylvania Indian Survey."

December 18. Kingston Teacher's Institute. "Pennsylvania Indian Survey."

Two of the associates on the staff spoke as follows:

October 14. Mrs. Alanson Skinner, Kiwanis Club. "Work at Seneca Indian Reservation for the Pennsylvania Indian Survey."

November 19. Mr. Julian P. Boyd, at Colonial Dames meeting on the "Susquehanna Settlement Papers."

In addition to the sesqui exhibits, in January, the Society lent the Boston Store Indian material representative of the different tribes whose designs had been used for the Mallinson American Indian silks, which that store was advertising. The Society in October lent an extensive collection of manuscripts and historical objects to the Isaac Long store which were interestingly exhibited in their Oddity Shop Gallery. Also, the coin exhibit lent the Society by Mr. Joseph Steidel of Wilkes-Barre has attracted considerable attention.

In the line of publications the Society has been busy. Material is now in the hands of the printer for volume 20. Of this, a large section is the reprinting of a rare and valuable anonymous pamphlet connected with the Susquehanna Purchase. This has been edited by Mr. Boyd, who, through careful research and extensive study has established beyond doubt its authorship as being Barnabas Bidwell, unearthed interesting facts of Bidwell's life and written a short scholarly biography as an introduction to the pamphlet material. This will be available in separate form.

In preparation for the sesqui-centennial, the Society with the help of Mr. Wilbur A. Myers published a "Guide to the historical sites in the Wyoming Valley" with a pictorial map of the Valley. At the time of the celebration, 27,000 of these were sold to local institutions, banks, stores, etc., for free publicity distribution and in the autumn 5,000 more were taken by the school districts of Wilkes-Barre and Kingston.

Another local publication of more than usual interest is Mary Hinchcliffe Joyce's "Pioneer Days in the Wyoming Valley," which presents the history of this region in a form to be grasped by children. The material has never before been in so available and readable a form.

In order to awaken more interest in the Society and to bring to the attention of the business and professional men of the community, the opportunities offered them in the collections of the Society, Mr. Myers prepared an unusual folder. This is descriptive in detail of the practical part which the Society is equipped to play in the business and professional life of the community. It contains specially drawn art work, citations of how the Society's services have been used and can be used, and a dozen testimonials by some of the community's leading citizens. For this, the drawing was given by Mr. Robert B. Robinson, the engraving by the Craftsmen Engravers and the printing by the Times-Leader Printery. The Society has been much complimented on this publicity item.

Special service has been given by Mrs. W. A. Noble in arranging her valuable collection of Korean Pottery lent to the Society and by Mr. Charles W. Bixby in arranging the Hollenback Papers. At the Cardin Lecture, the late Curtis Harrower enthusiastically gave his services as accompanist.

Mr. John Curvers, a trained mineralogist, very kindly arranged and classified a large collection of rare specimens given to the Society by Mr. E. C. Henry of Jersey City, as well as some earlier acquisitions.

Four gifts of outstanding local value have been the direct outgrowth of the sesqui-centennial. One, the manuscript data of the first land holdings and inscriptions on the tablets marking the same throughout the West Side, prepared by attorney William Brewster; another, a map of the West Side showing these holdings and the historical sites in the Valley, drawn by Mr. H. S. Smith; an exquisitely shaped wooden cradle made by hollowing a log for the first Chapman baby

born in the Valley and used by each successive generation down to the children of Mrs. Blanchard Chapman, who is the donor of this rare gift; and the last, an old rolling pin, shaped by hand and used here by the Worden family before the Battle of Wyoming, presented by Mrs. Ellen Everett.

Another outstanding gift is the magnificent Catlin Portfolio of Indian drawings given the Society by his generous collateral descendant, Dr. George H. Catlin of Scranton. Also, from Mr. William A. Wilcox of Scranton, we received some account books and also Colonel John Franklin's manuscript of the Susquehanna Claims Controversy, which are of special local interest and value.

The list of donors appended to this report indicates the widespread interest and appreciation of the work of this Society but in order to reach the fullest efficiency and usefulness to the community, the Society craves larger representation in its membership, more co-operation in the gifts and deposits of valuable local historical material and the provision for more efficient administration, financial and actual, through the purchase of the Institute building.

GIFTS RECEIVED DURING 1928.

MAPS.

Chapman, Mrs. Blanchard	Dodson, Victor Lee
Joyce, Mrs. P. F.	Wolfe, Mrs. S. M.

NEWSPAPERS AND CLIPPINGS.

Bidlack, Rev. S. B.	Mitchell, A. A.
Bossler, John	Morgan, Charles
Evans, Tallie	Newhard, Charles H.
Flick, Reuben J.	Parke, N. G.
Jones, Evan D.	Peck, W. J.
Konkle, James	Solomon, E. L.
Lenahan, John T.	Wilcox, W. A.

MONEY AND MEDALS.

Barry, Mrs. Wilbur	Schooley, H. B.
Hemstreet, Obadiah	

BOOKS.

Allen, Gardner W.	Baldwin, A. M.
American Historical Society	Barnes, Dr. M. E.
Anderson, J.	Bates, E. L.
Angle, Paul M.	Bennett, C. E.
Armstrong, W. C.	Biggs, Joseph
Atkins, H. E.	Boland, Mrs. James M.
Avery, Clara A.	Bomberger, C. M.
Baader, Ethel M.	Brousious, Harry

- Brower, William L.
 Bunting, Mrs. Douglass
 Calumet Baking Powder Co.
 Carter, R. C.
 Catlin, Hon. G. H.
 College Entrance Book Co.
 Crandall, J. L.
 Curvers, John
 Darte, George L.
 Darte, Col. Franck G.
 Densmore, Frances
 Dickson, Mrs. Allen H.
 Dorrance, Anne
 Dorrance, Frances
 Estabrook, A. H.
 Evans, G. L.
 Gearhart, H. G.
 Giering, Eugene
 Goltz, Carlos W.
 Goodenough, C. L.
 Greene, Homer
 Halsey, Herbert D.
 Harvard College
 Herskovits, M. J.
 Hill, John Wilson
 Holmes, Mrs. Caroline B.
 Hunt, Lea
 Johnson, Mrs. F. C.
 Joslin, Mrs. Malinda
 Keck, Charles E.
 Lancaster County Hist. Soc.
 Lewis Historical Pub. Co.
 Lewis, V. E.
 Link, Harriet J.
 Lowe, Orton
 Ludy, Dr. R. B.
 Lum, Edward H.
 Lynch, Harriet
 McClintock, Mrs. A. T.
 MacDonald, Arthur
- McGroarty, W. B.
 MacLennan, Earl A.
 Markham, Frances G.
 Meader, Rev. C. A.
 New York Public Library
 New York State Library
 Norris, Mrs. R. V.
 Otis, W. A.
 Pack, Charles L.
 Parks, Mrs. A. L.
 Pfeiffer, Mrs. William
 Phillips Academy
 Price, Lucy M. S.
 Pulsifer, W. E.
 Ravenel, Daniel
 Red Cross (Indianapolis)
 Reynolds, M. H.
 Savage, Mary
 Schrader, B.
 Sellers, E. J.
 Shaffer, Mrs. Jacob H.
 Society of Colonial Wars (N. J.)
 Stair, O. P.
 Stark, S. Judson
 Steel, W. G.
 Stokes, Dr. Joseph
 Strong, Frederick A. S.
 Sturdevant, Jessie
 Tilton, Francis
 Toohey, Catherine
 Tyler, Mrs. E. N.
 Wakeman, Abram
 Walworth, E. H.
 Watson, Mrs. May Strong
 Weaver, Mrs. C. S.
 Welles, Henry H., Jr.
 Whitney, Mrs. M.
 Wilcox, W. A.
 Wilson, Frederick A.
 Wilson, Walter H.

PAMPHLETS.

- Adams, Randolph G.
 Armor, Charles L.
 Ayres, Mrs. E. B.
 Boland, Mrs. James M.
 Bender, Mrs.
 Benham, George W.
 Catlin, Hon. G. H.
 Committee on the 150th Anniversary of the Amer. Revolution
 Chicago Commerce
- Clearwater, A. T.
 DeWitt, R. E.
 Dodson, Victor Lee
 Hunt, Lea
 Jones, John A.
 Keck, Charles E.
 Keidel, George
 Le Grand, Mrs. C. D.
 Merrill, C. V.
 Miner, Wm. Harvey
 Myers, Albert C.

Nat'l Soc. of Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims (Denver)	Snyder, J. Frank
Neifert, W. W.	Solomon, Erskine L.
Newberry Library	Sowers, Mrs. A. M.
New York Public Library	Storm, P. N.
Pensyl, D. S.	Strauss, Mrs. Seligman
Pennsylvania Railroad	Struthers, Mrs. Emma
Saul, C. Robert	Sutherland, Walter C.
Smith, H. Arthur	Williams, Herbert U.
	Wilson, Samuel M.

PORTRAITS, VIEWS AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

Ayars, Mrs. Shepherd	Murray, Mrs. L. W.
Clark, G. J.	Pfouts, Mrs. A. F.
Craftsmen Engravers	Sesqui-Centennial Gen. Committee
De Witt, Ralph E.	Silverstein Advertising Co.
Dorsey, Guy	Slattery, Frank P.
Harkins, Mary	Sterling, Mrs. Paul
Hazard Insulated Wire Works	Vulcan Iron Works
Johnstone, Norman	Webb, Luella
Levy, Robert	Williams, R. M.
Mills, Samantha	Wyoming Valley Florists
Miner Hillard Milling Co.	Y. M. C. A.
Mitchell, Bertha	

GENERAL MUSEUM ARTICLES.

Bakum, Mrs. A.: Indian pot sherds.
Camp, E. D.: Muster-out-roll Instructions.
Chapman, Mrs. Blanchard: Cradle.
Conwell, Jack: Geological collection.
Cooke, William Cary: Canteen belonging to Hessian Officer.
Corwin, Mrs. Lewis B.: Coat worn in Philippine Artillery.
Dickover, George: 4 arrow heads, 2 pieces of jasper, one pebble.
Dorrance, Frances: Old fashioned scale.
Everett, Mrs. Ellen: Old rolling pin.
Freedman, Harold: Powder horn, buckle, etc.
Hachita, Mrs. M. S.: 1 cape and 6 pieces of children's clothing.
Henry, E. C.: Minerals and case for same.
Jones, Carlton: World War trophy.
Joyce, Mrs. P. F.: Knitting needle.
Marchese, Phyllis: Butterflies.
Mitchell, A. A.: Spear-head.
Proferes, Nicholas: Shark's tooth.
Ramsey, W. S.: Civil War musket.
Roberts, William: 2 arrow heads, 1 piece Indian pottery.
Shoemaker, Jane A.: Iron holder and lump sugar cutter.
Singer, D. M.: Phila. and Gt. Bend Turnpike Certificates.
Skinner, Mrs. Alanson: 2 pieces Indian jewelry.
Snee, Capt. James J.: Aeroplane propeller.
Solomon, Erskine L.: Meteorite, 2 Spanish War Charters.
Strauss, Mrs. S. J.: 2 rock formations.
Tanski, Helen: Butterflies.
Templeton, Dr. H. G.: Indian pestle.
Yeosock, Anna: German hand grenade.

SPECIAL SERVICE.

- Chase, S. C.: Work of carpenter.
Craftsmen Engravers: Cuts for folder.
Harrower, Curtis: Accompaniment at Cardin recital.
Miller, Harry C.: Notarial services.
Robinson, Robert B.: Sketch for folder.
Serve-Your-City Club: Ushering at lecture by Mr. Moore.
Snyder, G. N.: Use of piano for Cardin lecture recital.
Times-Leader Printery: Printing for folder used in membership drive.

DEPOSITS AND LOANS.

- Guthrie, Dr. Malcolm: Ivory elephant collection.
Jennings, Percy: Skinning knife.
Loveland, Josephine: Rare museum articles.
McCullough, W. J.: Pink luster cup and Staffordshire plate.
Noble, Mrs. W. Arthur: Rare collection of Korean pottery and desk,
and other material.
Patterson, Mrs. A.: Program of first exercises of Wyoming Monu-
ment.
White, Mrs. Elizabeth: Collection of sermons bound by hand.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Year ending December 31, 1928.

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

Balance, Savings Account.....	\$ 11,384.67
Investment Account (Stocks sold).....	1,762.94
	_____ \$ 13,147.61

Bills Payable.

Loan, 1925, on mortgage against institute property,
participated in by

First National Bank	\$ 15,000
Second National	15,000
Wyoming National Bank.....	15,000
Miners Bank	15,000

Loan on collateral, Miners.....	17,000	77,000.00
Total		\$ 90,147.61

EXPENDITURES.

Withdrawn from Savings Account:

July 30 Transferred to Nesbitt Fund Account in Sec-	
ond National Bank (replacing interest, trans-	
ferred by error)	\$ 254.00
Deficit on Clarence Chamberlain lecture,	
February	218.00
Aug. 1 To pay interest on note, Wyoming National	
Bank	225.00

Sept. 27 To apply on salaries:

September	\$ 365.00
November	147.66
December	523.34

Paid on mortgage, Institute Building.....	\$ 77,000.00	78,733.00
Balance on hand.....		\$ 11,414.61

GENERAL INCOME ACCOUNT, 1928.

RECEIPTS.

Balance, checking account	\$ 128.67
Income from investments	4,159.00
Membership dues	1,815.00
Luzerne County appropriation	200.00
Genealogical services	13.50
Sale of books	536.77
Filing case sold to Indian Survey.....	21.00
Sale of old paper.....	1.80

REPORTS

xxxiii

Gift, Frances Dorrance, to pay one-half of Assistant's salary	560.00
Advance from Savings Acct.:	
Lecture deficit	\$ 218.00
Salaries	\$1,036.00
	<u>1,254.00</u>
	<u>\$ 8,699.74</u>
EXPENDITURES.	
Salaries	\$ 6,018.00
General Expense	436.22
Postage	80.00
Incidentals	192.00
Supplies	133.78
Telephone	67.91
Insurance	20.00
Periodical Subscriptions	32.50
Memberships in Historical Societies.....	50.00
Lectures	271.86
Sale of books, transferred to book fund.....	344.12
Coxe Publication Fund	41.00
Binding	49.25
Photostats, etc.	2.75
Deficit paid on Institute Account.....	<u>575.57</u>
	<u>\$ 8,314.96</u>
Balance	<u>\$ 384.78</u>

INSTITUTE ACCOUNT, 1928.

RECEIPTS.

Loan advance from income of Nesbitt's securities.....	\$ 3,860.00
Amount received from Savings for interest.....	225.00
	<u>\$ 4,085.00</u>

EXPENDITURES.

Interest paid	\$ 4,620.00
Repairs, etc.	40.57
	<u>4,660.57</u>

Deficit paid from General Income Funds....	<u>\$ 575.57</u>
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SUMMARY.

General Income Account.

Receipts	\$ 8,699.74
Expenditures	8,314.96
	<u></u>

Balance	<u>\$ 384.78</u>
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Institute Account.

Receipts	\$ 4,085.00
Expenditures	4,660.57
	<u></u>

Deficit paid by General Income Account.....	<u>\$ 575.57</u>
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PRESIDENT'S REPORT FOR 1929

Following as it does the record for 1928, with its high peak of work done in co-operation with the Sesqui-Centennial celebration of the Battle of Wyoming, the report for 1929 must carry on from the level of 1927—over which it shows considerable growth in all lines of activity.

Of first importance is the change in the organization of the Board of Trustees. With the growth in interests of the Society the Board of seven Trustees was inadequate to follow up the different responsibilities. Consequently, as provided by the By-Laws, at the last annual meeting, the number of Trustees was increased to ten, who with the officers have greatly advanced the interests and work of the Society. The Trustees were divided into committees, as given in the list of officers on the cover of this report and each has faithfully carried his share.

The building and equipment committee has considered the repairs and provisions for heat, light, exhibit and protection needed to make the Institute Building usable and estimates that \$5,000.00 will cover the work and provide show cases for the two large rooms, the one to the right of the entrance on the first floor, and the one on the north side of the second floor. The Pioneer bedroom and kitchen should be fitted out and left as a permanent exhibit. With the space rented by the Little Theatre and the Caretaker's rooms, this leaves only the detached sun-room on the first floor and the two rooms on the south side of the second floor, unassigned at present. When fitted out with cases, the upper room with the Gambara frescoes on walls and ceiling will give the much desired space for loan and other exhibits, to be changed from time to time.

The plan for the lower room is an exhibit on the history of anthracite coal mining, specimens, implements, books, photographs, models, etc. With anthracite mining the basic industry, a good collection of material on the subject is much needed. The coal committee stands ready to put in the exhibit just as soon as the place for it is provided.

Expanding into the Institute Building, by moving to it the minerals and coal specimens and some books, will establish these much needed exhibits and relieve the great crowding in the present building, making possible more systematic arrangement and more efficient work. Dr. George Wood-

ward, son of one of the Founders of the Society, has given one thousand dollars towards the five thousand dollars needed. Who will help raise the remainder? And how can the one hundred thousand dollars needed to raise the mortgage on the Institute Building be found, thereby relieving the Society from the annual drain on its maintenance income through the payment of interest.

Increase in the permanent endowment of the Society through increased membership answers in part this last question. For this, the membership committee has engaged an expert to interview and interest people in taking out perpetual memberships. While this work belongs to 1930, the report of the first month can be included here, to indicate the growth. In January thirty Life memberships were secured of which twenty-five were already annual members and five new Life memberships. The money thus raised will be held against the completion of the Nesbitt Fund.

The need of additional Life members and the advantage of turning annual into Life memberships is shown by the Society's great loss in 1929 in the deaths of fifteen members of whom twelve were annual members.

The committee on the preservation of manuscripts and landmarks furnishes an interesting report. A young instructor from the University of Pennsylvania, L. Walter Seegars, was engaged for the summer months, furnished with a second-hand Ford and sent canvassing the Susquehanna Valley, to discover the location of manuscript and documentary material in the possession of private individuals which would be of historical importance, and to make certain the preservation of this material for historical purposes, by gift to or deposit with the Society or to be copied and returned.

This unique experiment brought rich returns in private and public documents, such as township proprietor's books, like the Salem township, intact from 1773 to date, early tax lists, account books, diaries, surveyors journals, etc. The full report will be printed in volume 21 of the Society's Proceedings and Collections, since the experiment will be of great interest. Of first value to historical research is the collection, preservation and scholarly editing and publishing of such documents, and this is the prime responsibility of all local historical societies.

The Society is particularly fortunate in having the Sheldon

Reynolds Memorial Fund for the purpose of doing this from all available documentary sources on the Connecticut migration into Northeastern Pennsylvania. This project, under the editorship of Julian P. Boyd, has resulted in the accumulation of approximately 8,000 photostats of manuscripts relative to the subject from nearly all of the principal public archives in this country, and from several large private collections. These photostats have all been transcribed and the principal task remaining to be done is that of seeing the extensive publication through the press. The first volume which embraces the years 1750 to 1755, is now in press, and will appear shortly. Besides containing much fresh documentary sources which will throw considerable light on the Susquehanna Company in its formative years, the volume will contain an introduction by the editor showing especially the economic and social background of a movement which was essentially a part of the whole westward migration in America. The introduction will also contain a chapter on "Connecticut's Colonial Secret", tending to show that Connecticut was an unmatched colonizing center sending out satellite communities all the way across the continent, and explaining her expansiveness on the basis of her racial stock, her system of government, her educational system, her religion, and especially her system of land tenure and distribution. In fact, according to the introduction, this whole episode offers the best opportunity in American history for a study of different land systems in competition, for it is the outstanding example of one of the "quit-rent" colonies coming in conflict with a "fee-simple" colony.

The photostats of the manuscripts which pertain to this project are bound in loose-leaf volumes and will be arranged in the same order as the printed volumes, so that the index to the published work will also serve as an index to the photostats of the original documents. This will be a convenience for those who cherish the chirography of their ancestors and also for those skeptical students who may doubt the editor's transcription of the documents. It is expected that the work will occupy twelve royal octavo volumes of about five hundred pages each.

This project is of such importance that it has already attracted the attention of some of the leading historians in the country. The editor has secured the co-operation of three outstanding historians to act as an advisory editorial board

in connection with the work: Dr. Charles M. Andrews of Yale, Dr. N. S. B. Gras of Harvard, and Dr. St. George L. Sioussat of the University of Pennsylvania. A further evidence of the attention which this project is attracting is the fact that the American Historical Association requested Mr. Boyd to take a place on its program at its annual meeting held at Durham, North Carolina, December 30, 1929, to January 1, 1930. Mr. Boyd read a paper at the session of the Conference of Historical Societies on December 30, and discussed the scope of the project and the manner in which it was being carried on. He pointed out the usual defects in the publications of local historical societies and suggested as one remedy the establishment of connecting links between the universities and the historical societies by such devices as the editorial advisory board. He also pointed out the need of such an investigation of the Connecticut migration to Pennsylvania as the Sheldon Reynolds Memorial Fund enables this Society to make.

Under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Frederic Hillman, the lectures given during 1929 were as follows, and in this connection the thanks of the Society are due to the First Presbyterian Church, and St. Stephen's Church for the use of the auditoriums:

February 26. Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, "Early American Snobs."

March 26. Dr. Carl Guthe, "The Hidden Story of the Indian."

April 15. Mrs. Ethel Park Richardson, "Songs of the Southern Mountains."

October 29. Miss Constance Reynolds, "The Market Street Bridges at Wilkes-Barre."

November 18. Edward H. Thompson, "America's Answer to Egypt."

Two of these lectures have had interesting results, the one by Dr. Guthe, with subsequent meetings of Pennsylvanians interested in Archaeology, has led to the organization of the Society For Pennsylvania Archaeology. This Society will serve as a clearing house of information on the Pennsylvania Indian. An opportunity for consultation and study by local collectors and archaeologists possibly will develop into the organization for directing the actual extended Indian Survey of Pennsylvania.

The Indian Survey, under the Chairmanship of the Direc-

tor of this Society, has been progressing well. Three expeditions did field work in the State, the reports of which will be published. Dr. Speck's Big House ceremony manuscript will be published by the Historical Commission, also one by Max Schrabisch on the head waters region of the Delaware River. Mrs. Alanson Skinner spent two months on the Cornplanter Seneca Reservation.

As the work progresses the need of a permanent central organization becomes more and more apparent and it is expected that the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology will be equal to the responsibilities by the time the need becomes imperative.

The second lecture, bringing about a marked improvement in the work of the Society, was the outstanding one of Miss Reynolds, which aroused great public interest in local history. The outgrowth of this is the formation of a local history seminar by Mr. Boyd for the purpose of studying local historical subjects, social and economic as well as political, with the expectation of developing speakers and furnishing lecture material for the Society. If this grows as the present interest gives promise, it will be another important contribution of the Society to the general topic of local historical work.

The addresses and reports delivered by the Director of the Society and Mr. Boyd, as given below, are an index to the general interests of the Society:

By the Director.

January 21. Harrisburg Civic Club—Indian Survey.

March 6. Abington Women's Club—Indian Survey.

April 8. Genealogical Society Council, Philadelphia—Indian Survey.

April 9. Wyoming Valley Women's Club, Wilkes-Barre
—Sullivan Expedition.

Atherton Bible Class, Wilkes-Barre—Sullivan
Expedition.

June 5. Wyoming Monument Association, Wyoming—
Sullivan Expedition.

June 23. Sullivan Expedition Tablet Dedication—Wilkes-
Barre.

September 13. Wyoming Seminary, Kingston—Research
work in London.

By Julian P. Boyd, editor of Susquehanna Papers.

July 29. Broadcast, Harrisburg, on Susquehanna Papers.
August 20. Broadcast, Hartford, Conn., on Susquehanna Papers.

November 12. Phalanx Club, Wilkes-Barre, on Southern History.

December 30. Durham, N. C., before American Historical Association—address on Susquehanna Papers, as part of publication policy of this Society.

Also two minor addresses before young people's societies on local history.

The last talk of the Director's, as noted above, refers to her summer's work in London, as a representative of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, doing research work in the British Archives and conferring with the authorities at Deal, England, in regard to a monument to the sailing of William Penn. Through the fortunate finds of a research worker in the British Museum it was possible to determine definitely that William Penn sailed from Deal on August 31, 1682, a point in dispute in Pennsylvania History.

The Sullivan Expedition observances in this locality were carried out as arranged by the Director, the opening one being held June 23 on the River Common, Wilkes-Barre, to commemorate the arrival of General Sullivan with his army, the last one being in Athens on August 22. Of permanent value in this connection are the historical Commission's souvenir programs, giving data, portraits of officers, a map of the expedition, and the list of Pennsylvania observances, and the official pictorial map of the expedition through Pennsylvania. Copies of both of these may be secured at the Historical Society's building. It is expected that the Director of this Society, as Secretary of the Historical Commission, will co-operate with the New York Department of History and Archives in locating and publishing hitherto unknown Sullivan Expedition material.

The publications of the Society during 1929 were the annual report of the President for 1928; a circular describing the purpose and work of the Society; the Wyoming Commemorative Association Proceedings for 1929; and volume 20 of the Society's Proceedings and Collections, with separates of the articles included in it. Material for volume 21 is now being collected and with its publication in 1930 the publications of the Society will be brought up to date.

Valuable work done by the Society during the autumn of 1929, and through the financial co-operation of patriotic citizens of the valley, is the restoration of the tattered battle flags in the possession of this Society, which had been carried by local regiments in the Mexican and Civil Wars. The work was done by Mrs. Helena M. Cook, representing Mrs. Katherine Fowler Richey, and aroused great local interest. Motion pictures of Mrs. Cook with several of the G. A. R. veterans were shown in local theatres. Two guidons and four flags were preserved. The pity is that the work has been necessarily delayed until the condition of the flags became so fragile that much of the fabric turned to powder as handled. No other process could preserve so well these glorious emblems of our local patriotism.

Through the generosity of the family of General Asher Miner, this Society was privileged to distribute copies of Mrs. Morton's life of her father.

An event of State significance was our local observance of the Pulaski Sesqui-Centennial on October 12 which became a State official observance, the Governor and other State officers taking part in the program. The meetings of the committees were held in the Institute Building through the courtesy of the Society and the Director of the Society was on the executive and program committees, so that the Society thereby, played an important part in the celebration.

The regular work made the usual progress. The community calendar is an accepted fact in the plans of local organizations; family reunions have responded to appeals for local genealogical data; the visitors to the building for study and for examination of exhibits were many more than in 1927 though not equaling the crowds of the Sesqui-Centennial. The number of visitors in 1929 was 1400 men, 800 women, 4600 children and 450 students with 13 school classes.

The publication of volume 20 has necessitated the re-checking of our exchange lists, a much needed piece of work. The regular work of cataloguing books; assisting genealogical students; and looking up information for genealogical correspondents; and co-operation with local organizations in publicity exhibits, etc., has progressed nicely. Thirty genealogical inquiries were answered by letter. The number of books catalogued is 541 of which 175 were gifts; 25 exchanges, and 185 purchases. The following lists of selected titles indicate the general character of the books added to the

Library. The government documents received during the year were 2,360.

HISTORY.

- Steiner: Archives of Maryland.
 De Lue: The story of Walpole, Mass., 1724-1924.
 Brower: History of the Collegiate Reform Dutch Church, New York.
 O'Brien: In old New York.
 Worner: Old Lancaster tales and traditions.
 Goodrich: Lives of the signers to the Declaration of Independence.
 Sutcliff: Travels in some parts of North America, 1812.
 Hist. Society of Delaware Co.: Old St. David's Church, Radnor Pa., 1700-1906 and others.

GENEALOGY.

- Seaman: Seaman Family in America.
 Wentworth: Wentworth genealogy, 3 vols.
 Holman: The Holmans in America.
 Weston: Hon. Seth Sprague of Duxbury, Plymouth Co., Mass.
 Converse: Converse family and allied families, 2 vols.
 Spofford: Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania biography.
 Munger: The Munger Book, 1639-1914.
 Parks: Parke families of Connecticut.
 Smith: Register of St. Philip's Parish, Charleston, S. C., 1754-1810.
 Sinnett: About seventy-five mss. genealogies.
 Lowell: Munsey-Hopkins Genealogy.
 Holman: Blackman and allied families.

COAL AND GEOLOGY.

- Sisler: Anthracite culm and silt.
 Fairchild: Geologic story...Genesee Valley and Western New York.
 Bayley: Geological Survey of Georgia, Bulletin 43.
 Smyth: Treatise on coal and coal mining.
 Thom: Petroleum and coal.
 Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Mines: Mineral resources of U. S. 1926.
 N. Y. Anthracite Operators Conference: Selected bibliography on anthracite.
 70th Congress, 2nd session: Administration of war minerals...et al.

AMERICAN INDIAN.

- Shoemaker: Indian Folk songs.
Tooker: Indian Place names on Long Island.
Clark: Lights and Lines of Indian character.
Brownell: Indian Races on North and South America.
Fairlie: Stories of the Seminoles.
Swanton: Myths and tales of the southeastern Indians.
Densmore: Chippewa customs.
Hunter: Notes on village sites of the Huron Indians.

GENERAL ITEMS.

- Pa. Society of Colonial Dames: American War Songs.
Surface: Grain Trade...World War.
Hoyt: Pen and Pencil Picture—D., L. and W. Railroad,
1874.
Moore: Old China Book.
Aurand: Pow-wow book of Pennsylvania Germans.
Davis: Authentic history—Ku-klux clan, 1865-77.
Bureau of Navigation: Merchant Vessels, United States,
1928.

As usual, articles of exhibit value were lent various local shops and organizations. This co-operation not only helps those to whom the articles are lent, but serves as a distinct means of publicity for the Society. An exhibit of the work of the Sheldon Reynolds Memorial Publication was made in the State Library for the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, as an example of the value of the Federation, since this splendid work of publication is the direct outgrowth of an announcement at a Federation meeting of the discovery of some Susquehanna Company papers in Montrose, Pa. The Director of this Society, acting upon this announcement, secured permission from the Susquehanna County Historical Society to publish their papers. This started the work, which has expanded beyond all expectations. The exhibit consisted of the large volume of mounted photostats constituting the documents included in Volume I of the publication, and the title page of Volume I.

Public interest has been manifested by the large attendance at the lectures and the great number of gifts received during the year. A list of donors is appended to this report.

A deposit of great value and interest is that of genealogical material belonging to Mrs. Charles Wood as follows: The Ravenstonedale Parish Registers, volumes two and three,

1710, 1780, 1781, 1812; Registers Parish Church of Sedbergh, County York, 1594-1800. More material of this kind is earnestly desired and needed by the Society.

Among the gifts of unusual value are a Washington letter given by Mrs. E. Greenough Scott and a letter of Alexander Hamilton to Timothy Pickering given by Mrs. Allan H. Dickson. Their possession greatly enriches the Society's collection of manuscripts.

It is hoped that the above record of the work and needs of the Society, in preparation for community service, and the limitation of its efficient execution through inadequate space and inadequate funds, may arouse deeper public recognition of the permanent value of this Society and its place in the community through gifts and bequests, to its General Endowment, the foundation of its accomplishment.

GIFTS IN 1929.

BOOKS RECEIVED FROM :

Adams, James Taylor	Holman, Alfred L.
American Historical Society, Inc.	Hunt, Thomas
Aymar, Benjamin	Hunter, A. F.
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co.	Hunter, G. G.
Benner, Allen R.	Jackson, Margaret
Bouton, Mrs.	Jones, Harry C.
Browne, W. Tyler	Jordan, David Starr
Bunn, Romanzo Norton	Kazaczun, Rev. Francis
Cody, L. L.	Lee, Revel P.
Cook, William W.	Lincoln, J. Gardner
Danielson, Mrs. R. E.	Lydick, Lotus Niles
Delabarre, Dr. Edmund Burke	Markham, Frances G.
DeLong, Dr. Irwin Hoch	Monroe, W. S.
DeMoya, Vincent	New Jersey Hist. Commission
Deming, Mrs. E. W.	Norris, Mrs. R. V. A.
DeWitt, Herman B.	Perkins, D. W.
Dille, Thomas Ray	Presbytery of Lackawanna (Rev. J. L. Weisley)
Dorrance, Anne	Rosenberger, Jesse Leonard
Dorrance, Frances	Rutter, Fannie M.
Elliott, Stephen	Sellers, E. Jacquett
Evans, Mrs. Blanche E.	Sister Mary Eulalia Herron
Ewing, Thomas	Stark, Cornelia
Fairchild, Mrs. C. S.	Strauss, Mrs. S. J.
Forrest, Mrs. Joseph	Struthers, Mrs. A. E.
Gates, Mrs. Q. A.	Thomas, Louise M.
Geological Survey of Alabama	Vassar College Library
Gilchrist, Jessie	Welles, Theodore
Harkness, Mrs. J. A.	Wetmore, Misses
Harlow, Rev. Samuel Allen	Williams, Anthony L.
Hasbrouck, Judge G. D. B.	Wood, Mrs. Charles
Haughton, Mrs. Ida C.	Woodruff, W. E.
Heye, Mrs. George G.	

PAMPHLETS.

Armstrong, W. C.	Myers, Wilbur A.
Carr, Mrs. Henry J.	Rutter, Fannie M.
Carson, Mrs. Hampton L.	Schultz, G. W.
Dill, W. A.	Selecky, J. E.
Dorrance, Anne	Shoemaker, Jane A.
Eddy Family Association, Inc.	Solomon, Erskine L.
Eshleman, H. F.	Sowers, A. M.
Fox, Dixon Ryan	Strauss, Mrs. S. J.
Geological Survey of Alabama	Struthers, Mrs. E. W.
Gracie, Mrs. Archibald	Tompkins, W. S.
Jackson, Margaret	Vassar College Library
Landis, D. H.	Wertz, H. A.
Leaser, J. E.	Wilder, Frank J.
McLellan, Hugh	Woodruff, W. E.
Markham, Frances G.	

PHOTOGRAPHS.

Ayars, Amos H.	Jones, Mrs. Lawrence B.
Catlin, Hon. George H.	Law, Anna
Coxe, Edmund J. D.	More, Charles
Espy, Bruce	Payne, E. W.
Fahringer, Robert	White, E. R.

GENERAL MUSEUM ARTICLES.

Ayars, Mrs. Shepherd: Seven hand painted Indian designs
Delpuech, A. C.: Three Indian artifacts
Hillard, Oliver C.: Hawaiian bark table cloth
Humphrey, J. M., Jr.: Old mine rake
Jayne, Mrs. S. C.: Indian stone artifacts
Loveland, Mrs. Charles N.: Fan, lorgnette and embroidered square
Randall, D. V.: Model of coal car with automatic brakes
Rhenard, C. H.: Civil War relics and nails from Slocum home
Scott, James: Arrowheads, scrapers and chips
Simmers, J. W.: Groundhog's skin, and jaw bone
Solomon, Erskine L.: Flags of Spanish-American War, bolo and ship model

COINS AND MEDALS.

Dorrance, Anne	Schooley, H. B.
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NEWSPAPERS, CLIPPINGS AND MAPS.

Berks Co. Historical Society	Myers, Wilbur A.
Burklin, August	Struthers, Mrs. A. E.
Department of Highways, Scranton	Trumbower, Charles
Dept. of Highways, Scranton	Twichell, H. E.
Harris, Albert	Watertown Daily Times
Jevons, Mrs. S. P.	Weaver, Gustin C.
Lewis, Mrs. Clyde	

SPECIAL LOCAL INTEREST.

Amesbury, W. H.: Indian artifacts
Bishop, Elma: Ancestor's Will
Crispin, C. G.: Application for pension of Judge Gearhart, Danville, Pa.

- Daniels, Mrs. J. H.: Flag—Good Will Drum Corps
 Dickson, Mrs. Allan H.: Autograph letter of Alexander Hamilton
 Dilley, Miss Minnie E.: Three German baptismal certificates
 Klipple, Edgar: Form bearing seal of Daniel Harding, Treasurer of
 Luzerne County, 1844
 Quicksell, Charles Wallace: Mennonite cradle
 Scott, Mrs. E. Greenough: Autograph letter of George Washington
 Shoemaker, Jane: Cradle and roaster
 Thomas, Louise: Three letters with autographs of Rutherford B. Hayes
 Welles, Edward: Two photostat copies of the Hollenback family tree
 Williamson, J. Pryor: Framed list of Wilkes-Barre club members

LOANS AND DEPOSITS.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Beck, Dr. H. M. | (Theodore Roosevelt Exhibit) |
| Burrowes, Hubert | White, Edward R. |
| Morgan, Walter | Wood, Mrs. Charles |
| Roosevelt House Association | |

SPECIAL SERVICE.

- Miller, Harry C.: Notarial services
 Shoemaker, Jane A.: Use of automobile for distribution—lecture
 publicity
 Sterling, Leila: Assistance in lecture publicity
 Wyoming National Bank: Use of addressograph machine
 First Presbyterian Church: Use of auditorium for lectures
 St. Stephen's Church: Use of auditorium for lectures
 Local Newspapers: Assistance in lecture publicity, etc.

NEW MEMBERS, 1929.

- | ANNUAL. | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Lewis T. Buckman | Mrs. Alanson B. Skinner |
| N. Grier Parke | Louis Shellbach, 3d |
| J. Campbell Collins | J. Arlington Rees |
| R. V. Norris, Jr. | Allan P. Kirby |
| John H. Blackman, Jr. | Katherine Dickson Darte |
| Edith Reynolds Lloyd | Mrs. H. F. Stephens De Witt |
| Walter B. Dando | |
- | LIFE. | |
|-------|--|
|-------|--|

DECEASED MEMBERS, 1929.

- | ANNUAL. | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Dr. Louise Stoeckel | Thomas M. Herbert |
| Robert A. Quinn | Isabella Gilchrist |
| Mulford Morris, Jr. | Frederick Stark |
| Harold Shoemaker | M. E. Moore |
| Henry J. Carr | Rev. Joseph Murgas |
| Mrs. Sara N. Youngblood | Mrs. Fred Parrish |
| William S. McLean, Sr. | Anthony L. Williams |
- | LIFE. | |
|-------|--|
|-------|--|

RESIGNED MEMBERS, 1929.

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| E. R. Schooley | Isador Thalenfeld |
| Harry Ash | |

REPORT ON THE WORK LOCATION OF MSS. IN
THE SUSQUEHANNA VALLEY, JUNE 15,
TO SEPTEMBER 1, 1929.

During the months of June, July and August, 1929, the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, began a work which, so far as I know, is the only one of its kind ever attempted in the eastern section of this country. This work was in the nature of a canvass of that part of the Susquehanna Valley, including the north of the Wyoming Valley region. Its purpose was to discover the existence and location of manuscript material, in the possession of private individuals which was of historical importance, especially as it related to the history of that particular section of the state; and to make certain that the material thus found would be preserved for the use of historical workers. The project was made possible through the generosity of Colonel Dorrance Reynolds, the president of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, whose interest in the history of the region and in the work of the Society prompted him to furnish the financial backing necessary for the enterprise. When it was determined to undertake the canvass, I was asked and accepted the opportunity to do the field work connected with it. This report of ten weeks spent in this kind of work is submitted with two objects in view—first, to briefly set forth the results achieved, and second, to outline the methods used with the hope that it may possibly be of aid to any future work of a similar nature that might be attempted by this Society or any other organization.

The latter I personally consider to be of greater importance for several reasons. The work of the past summer was only a beginning in comparison with the possibilities of future work. It was obviously impossible to exhaust the field, even in one region, in a few months. In addition there are undoubtedly other sections of this state and of other states which abound in historical materials which could and should be made available for use by students in that field but which are almost entirely inaccessible at present because their existence is not generally known or because they are kept in out of the way places. And I believe that anyone who will undertake similar work in the future, either continuing that already started here or beginning anew in another field, will

be glad to have some guidance in approaching the problem. As stated above, we knew of no other organization which had undertaken a systematic search for privately owned manuscript collections and thus we had no precedents to use as guides. And the necessity of having to experiment with methods caused delays which might be avoided in the future.

It would be inadvisable to give a detailed list of the material located in this report. As each manuscript was unearthed a card was made out giving the date and setting of the manuscript, whenever possible, a brief statement of its contents, the name and address of the person in whose possession it was found, and the disposition of the manuscript, i. e., whether it was given to the Society as a permanent gift, deposited for safe keeping, or merely loaned in order that a copy could be made. These cards are in the possession of the Society as a detailed record of the results of the summer's work. I think a brief description of the nature of the material would be better for the purposes of this report. The material may be divided roughly into public and private, according to whether it relates to public affairs more directly or to the affairs of a private individual. The division is not always clear-cut, however, as the information contained in some of the finds shades from one class to the other without a distinct break. One of the best examples of public material are the township proprietors' books—the books containing the records of the meetings of the township proprietors. One of these books, that of Salem township, was found intact, containing the records from 1773 to date. Fragments of the book of New Groton township and that of Huntington township were also located. Similar to these is the record of the town treasurer of Huntington township covering a period of almost forty years in the first part of the 19th century. Other examples are early tax lists and lists of eligible voters in various townships. Still another are the docket records kept by various justices of the peace and akin to these is a book kept by Colonel John Franklin which contains a record of the warrants and orders served by him as sheriff. Another type of public record was that of a church established in the early days of a community, an important historical source for the story of a people in whose lives the religious phase played such a large part. Another kind of manuscript, a great number of which still exist, gives both public and private information. These are the account books and day books kept by

merchants, lawyers, physicians, blacksmiths, and those who owned and ran lumber mills and tanneries. Other material was almost entirely private in nature, such as family records which are valuable for genealogical purposes, diaries, surveyor's journals and field books, and files of correspondence; although in these there can also be found much that relates to public affairs of the time the record was made.

A discussion of the manner in which the work was carried on falls naturally under two heads from the very nature of the work itself—(1) the methods used to determine the location of privately owned manuscripts, and (2) those used to secure their preservation. I think the person best suited to do the work of locating historical manuscript is one who has had some training in historical research work and at the same time has a personal acquaintance in the region in which the work is to be done. Lacking this latter qualification I was forced to fall back upon those who had such acquaintance. And at this time I would like to express the appreciation due those with whom I came into contact in this connection. One of the most encouraging phases of the work was the manner in which, with few exceptions, the people in the various communities realized the value of the work we were doing and were willing to cooperate in any way they could. This was true not only of those directly connected with or actively interested in the Society but also those outside of this group.

The method I believe to be the quickest and most successful for the first part of the work is to interview several people in a community who have a knowledge of those people who would most probably have in their possession manuscript materials. I found that the people most likely to have such information are those who are connected with the local historical society or, and these were generally able to be of more assistance, prominent members of the local chapters of societies such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Colonial Dames, the Mayflower Society, or the Sons of the American Revolution. Invariably I found that one who is active in these societies was not only able but very willing to give the very information needed. During these interviews it is advisable to secure all the information possible, both extensive and intensive. By that I mean the names and residences of all families who would be at all likely to possess manuscripts and also all the information possible concerning each family—such as the time and circumstances of

their settlement in the community, the particular interests of the various members (whether, e. g., a family of lawyers, physicians, or merchants), the participation of any members of the family in public affairs in the past or in the present, and their political and religious connections. All this information should be kept on file for purposes of reference. Starting with some such definite information as leads it is not very difficult ordinarily to gather further leads as the work in any one place progresses. There are, of course, other ways of getting leads to start on. Local histories often show the way to a source which has been used only partially if at all and which may still be in private hands. The same is true, but to a less extent, of the compilations of biographical material often published in connection with a local history.

Another method which might be used, and which must be resorted to at times, is a house to house canvass. But so much time is lost in this way that it is better not to use it—except as a last resort and then only in very small communities. It is by far better to be able to start with some definite information and, using this as a starting point, follow each lead as nearly as possible to its end and then repeat the same process with each lead at hand.

In using this method of securing leads and working them to the end, I believe much time would be saved by staying in one community or vicinity for a longer period of time than, as a general rule, I did in the work of the past summer. If it is possible to do so it is better to stay in one place until that has been thoroughly combed before work is started in another locality. Of course, this rule cannot be followed absolutely but I believe that a stricter adherence to it would have saved much time and brought in greater results. I think that time could be saved also by having the material sent to the Society instead of having it brought in by the person doing the work in the field. This is especially true when the locality of the work is of some distance from the Society.

As to the methods used to secure the preservation of the material it is harder to draw general conclusions for almost each case has to be handled according to its own peculiarities. It might be well to say that an attempt was made in every instance to have the manuscript donated as a permanent gift to the Society. When this was refused the owner was asked to deposit the material with the Society for safe keeping without relinquishing the title to it or, as the last alternative,

to lend the material in order that a copy would be made. Obviously an outright gift is the most satisfactory for in many cases a mass of material might be found which would be well worth while preserving but its cost of copying would make that manner of preserving almost if not actually prohibitive. The effort to secure possession of these manuscripts after they are found is the most difficult part of the work. In some cases, if the Society were able to buy the manuscripts, they could be secured. This we were not able to do and I believe this is generally true of historical societies. But these cases were in the minority. The greatest obstacle to overcome is the personal interest the owner has in the papers—the task is to replace this personal or family interest with a public interest, in other words to educate these people who have manuscript of historical value to the viewpoint that their personal interest is subordinate when compared to the value of the papers for historical purposes. This, of course, is largely the work of the manuscript worker because he has the opportunity of personal contact but I believe that he can be aided by a regular and continued campaign with circulars or personal letters sent to the various owners before a direct attempt is made to persuade them to deposit the manuscripts with a Society.

It might also be advisable to acknowledge in some special manner, say by some specially designed certificate or possibly by membership in the society for a certain length of time, the gift or deposit of any manuscripts. Whatever the manner adopted, I think that the people who do cooperate in this way expect some special recognition from the organization that is undertaking the collection. These are, however, general rules which cannot be followed in every case because, as was stated before, each case must be dealt with individually.

(Signed)

L. WALTER SEEGERS.

Philadelphia, Penna.,
October 2, 1929.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

Year Ending December 31, 1929.

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

1929.

Jan. 1	Balance on hand—Savings Account No. 1137-A in Miners Bank of Wilkes-Barre	\$ 11,668.61
Mar. 2	Frank Barnes—Payment on principal of mortgage.....	50.00
June 26	Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie 6% Equipment Bonds, called for payment.....	3,000.00
26	South Carolina & Georgia R. R. Co. First Mortgage 5½% Bonds, called for payment.....	4,000.00
Aug. 29	St. Louis-San Francisco Prior Lien Series "D" Bonds, called for payment.....	5,125.00
	Interest on Savings:	
	June 30, 1929	\$ 167.79
	December 31, 1929	264.39
		<hr/> \$ 24,275.79

EXPENDITURES.

April 1	Transferred to Check Account to pay interest.....	\$ 1,030.00
July 13	Transferred to Check Account to purchase \$200.00 American Telephone & Telegraph Co. 10-year Convertible 4½% Gold Debenture Bonds.....	200.00
19	Transferred to Check Account to pay Sturdevant-Dilley Engineering Company (Institute Building Account) ..	68.50
24	Transferred to Check Account to pay accumulated bills (This transfer was approved by Mr. S. C. Chase) ...	1,661.40
Sept. 30	Transferred to Check Account to apply on payment of salaries	55.64
Oct. 30	Transferred to Check Account to pay interest.....	225.00
31	Transferred to Check Account to pay October salaries.	531.68
Dec. 20	Transferred to Check Account to purchase 40 shares F. W. Woolworth Co. Common Stock (Purchase made by Colonel Dorrance Reynolds and stock in his possession)	3,008.00
26	Transferred to Check Account to purchase 50 shares American Can Co. Common Stock (Purchase made by Colonel Dorrance Reynolds and stock in his pos- session)	5,612.50
30	Transferred to Check Account to pay T. W. Carwile (Advance to be reimbursed from Membership Fund) .	75.00
31	Transferred to Check Account to cover overdraft.....	5.61
31	Balance on hand, December 31, 1929.....	<hr/> \$ 24,275.79

GENERAL INCOME ACCOUNT, 1929.

RECEIPTS.	
Balance—Checking Account	\$ 374.88
Income from Investments	3,689.50
Membership Dues	1,870.00
Luzerne County Appropriation	200.00
City of Wilkes-Barre Appropriation.....	250.00
Genealogical Services	18.00
Sale of Books	135.16
Loan—Frances Dorrance	300.00
Gift—Frances Dorrance to pay one-half of Assistant's salary....	605.00
Advanced from Savings Account:	
To apply on Salaries.....	\$ 587.32
To pay T. W. Carwile.....	75.00
To cover overdraft	5.61
To pay accumulated bills	1,661.40
	<u>2,329.33</u>
	<u>\$ 9,771.87</u>
EXPENDITURES.	
Salaries paid during year.....	\$ 6,108.00
Special Funds:	
Coxe Publication Fund	\$367.31
City of Wilkes-Barre Appropriation paid to Frances Dorrance to pay on Yordy account Coxe Publication. 250.00	
Membership Fund—Carwile advances (repaid).....	150.00
Sale of Books transferred to Book fund.....	767.31
Insurance	135.16
Lectures	398.00
Books purchased	458.20
Binding	22.50
Telephone (Tolls repaid by F. Dorrance).....	72.00
Periodical Subscriptions	123.47
Photostats, etc.	54.50
Postage	22.75
Incidentals (Petty cash)	170.50
General Expense	192.00
Supplies	195.77
Society Memberships	259.20
Sullivan Trail Markers (To balance).....	53.00
Advance to Institute Fund.....	.02
Paid on Institute Expenses.....	575.00
	<u>164.49</u>
	<u>\$ 9,771.87</u>

INSTITUTE BUILDING ACCOUNT, 1929.

RECEIPTS.

Rent—The Little Theatre of Wilkes-Barre.....	\$ 200.00
Advance from income on Nesbitt securities—Second National Bank	2,790.00
Advance from Savings Account—Miners Bank.....	1,255.00
Advance from Checking Account—Miners Bank.....	575.00
(All advances to pay interest on loans)	
	<hr/> \$ 4,820.00

EXPENDITURES.

Interest paid	\$ 4,620.00
Expenses (Repairs, coal, etc.)	458.20
	<hr/> \$ 5,078.20

Deficit \$258.20 (paid by General Income Account).

SECURITIES IN HANDS OF THE TREASURER.

JULY 15, 1930.

\$ 1,500.00 The Wilkes-Barre Company, First and Refunding Mortgage 5% Gold Bonds, due July 1, 1960. Nos. 167 for \$1,000.00 and No. 23 for \$500.00.
500.00 Pacific Gas and Electric Company, First Mortgage 6% 20-Year Sinking Fund Gold Bonds due January 1, 1931. Nos. 363 for \$500.00.
1,000.00 Lehigh Telephone Company, First and Refunding Mortgage 5% Gold Bonds, Series "A", due July 1, 1949. No. M-1416 for \$1,000.00.
1,000.00 Muncie and Union City Traction Company, First Mortgage 5% 30-Year Gold Bonds, due July 1, 1936. No. 715 for \$1,000.00. (Interest in default January 1, 1925, to date).
8,000.00 Great Western Power Company of California, First and Refunding Mortgage Sinking Fund 6% Gold Bonds, due February 1, 1952. Nos. M-186, M-2482/3, M-2512/3, M-2523/4/5, for \$1,000.00 each.
1,000.00 Columbia and Montour Electric Company, Second Mortgage 30-Year 5% Gold Bonds, due February 1, 1943. No. 1008 for \$1,000.00.
11,000.00 The Wilkes-Barre and Wyoming Valley Traction Company, First Mortgage 5% Gold Bonds, due April 1, 1921, extended at 7% to April 1, 1931. Nos. 36, 60, 862/3/4/5/6/7/8 9/70 for \$1,000.00 each.

1,000.00 Indianapolis, New Castle and Eastern Traction Company, First Mortgage 6% 7-Year Gold Bond, due 1919, extended to June 1, 1932.
No. 354 for \$1,000.00.
(Interest in default June 1, 1925, to date).

11,000.00 Spring Brook Water Company, First Refunding Mortgage 5% Gold Bonds, due April 1, 1965. Nos. 2267/77 for \$1,000.00 each.

4,000.00 Government of the Argentine Nation, External Sinking Fund 6% Gold Bonds, issue of June 1, 1925, due June 1, 1959. Nos. M-42956/7/8/9 for \$1,000.00 each.

3,000.00 Fruit Growers Express Company, Equipment Trust of 1923, Series "C", 5½% Gold Bonds, due October 15, 1937. Nos. 3753/4/5 for \$1,000.00 each.

4,000.00 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company, General Mortgage 4½% Gold Bonds of 1892, due March 1, 1992.

200.00 American Telephone & Telegraph Company, 10-Year Convertible 4½% Gold Debenture Bonds Nos. TC-32-501/2 for \$100.00 each.

2,520.00 American Telephone & Telegraph Company, 10 shares Capital Stock.

775.00 Frank Barnes, Mortgage on property on Union Street, Luzerne, Penn'a.

1,400.00 Mary A. G. Barrett (deceased), Mortgage on property at 14 West Jackson Street, Wilkes-Barre, Penn'a.

\$ 51,895.00

SECURITIES HELD TEMPORARILY BY WYOMING NATIONAL BANK.

\$ 3,050.00 50 Shares F. W. Woolworth Company—Common.
3,450.00 50 Shares Amer. Smelting & Refining Co.—Common.
6,500.00 50 Shares American Can—Common.

\$ 13,000.00

CASH AWAITING INVESTMENT.

\$ 3,500.00 Savings Account—Wyoming National Bank.
22,985.00 Savings Account—Miners Bank.
400.00 Savings Account—Second National Bank.

\$ 26,885.00

13,000.00

51,895.00

\$ 91,780.00 Total Endowment.

SPECIAL AND ENDOWMENT FUNDS.

Henry Herbert Ashley	\$ 5,000.00
Joseph Swift Balch	2,000.00
George Slocum Bennett	1,000.00
Zebulon Butler	1,000.00
Coxe Publication Fund	10,000.00
Charles Dorrance Foster	1,000.00
Lillian Foster	5,000.00
Horace Edwin Hayden	1,500.00
Andrew Hunlock	2,000.00
Amelia Beard Hollenback	1,000.00
Anna Welles Hollenback	5,000.00
John Welles Hollenback	13,000.00
Charles Farmer Ingham, M. D.....	500.00
Frederick Charles Johnson, M. D.....	500.00
Rev. Jacob Johnson	1,000.00
Fred. Morgan Kirby	1,000.00
Ralph D. Lacoé	1,000.00
Augustus C. Laning	1,000.00
Katherine (Searle) McCartney	500.00
Charles Miner	500.00
Charles Abbot Miner	1,000.00
Sidney Roby Miner	1,000.00
Abram Nesbitt	14,000.00
Dorrance Reynolds	2,500.00
Sheldon Reynolds	1,000.00
Elizabeth (Reynolds) Ricketts	1,000.00
Harry B. Schooley	2,500.00
Anne E. (Hoyt) Shoemaker.....	1,000.00
Lazarus Denison Stearns	1,000.00
Lewis Harlow Taylor, M. D.....	3,000.00
Isaac Miner Thomas	1,000.00
Edward Welles	1,000.00
Stanley Woodward	1,000.00
Annie Augusta Wright	1,000.00
Harrison Wright	1,000.00

	\$ 87,000.00

The present endowment of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society has been built up by the investment of moneys received through Perpetual Memberships of which to December 1, 1929, there are four Patrons who have given ten thousand dollars or more, four Endowment members who have given five thousand dollars, forty Benefactors giving one thousand, and

one hundred and ninety Life members giving one hundred dollars each. As will be explained later, some of this endowment is not yet available for general purposes.

A large percentage of these gifts have established memorial funds designated by the donors to be used for the general endowment or for special purposes of the Society.

GENERAL ENDOWMENT.

The funds invested for this purpose have been received as follows:

GEORGE SLOCUM BENNETT, Bequest received 1911.....	\$ 1,000.00
CHARLES DORRANCE FOSTER, April 12, 1917.....	1,000.00
AMELIA BEARD HOLLOWBACK	1,000.00
JOHN WELLES HOLLOWBACK	13,000.00
\$4,000 given in 1903 in the name of his great uncle Matthias, which together with the remainder given over a period of years, constitutes the donor a Patron of the Society.	
FREDERICK CHARLES JOHNSON, M. D.	500.00
(Minimum \$1,000.00).	
Created by Dr. Johnson in 1909 and to be completed ultimately by a bequest provided in the will of Mrs. Johnson.	
REV. JACOB JOHNSON	1,000.00
Established May 4, 1909, by the sale of the "Historical Record" of Dr. F. C. Johnson.	
FRED. MORGAN KIRBY, given in 1909.....	1,000.00
CHARLES MINER	500.00
The sum of \$500.00 is being held in the Savings Account until the minimum of \$1,000.00 is reached through the sale of the book "Charles Miner; A Pennsylvania Pioneer".	
Sidney Roby Miner—Given in 1914.....	1,000.00
Abram Nesbitt	14,000.00
Given in 1916 to establish memorials for the following and to make the donor a Patron.	
Abram, 2d	\$ 1,000
James, Jr.	4,000
Mary S.	4,000
Samuel	1,000
Sarah Myers (Goodwin) Nesbitt.....	2,000
Sara (Nesbitt) Smyth	1,000

	\$13,000
Donor	1,000

	\$14,000
LAZARUS DENISON STEARNS	1,000.00
Given June 24, 1901, by his father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Irving A. Stearns.	
DR. LEWIS HARLOW TAYLOR.....	3,000.00
Given to establish Benefactor memberships for Mrs. Taylor and the donor and for their daughter, Anna Hollenback Taylor.	

ISAAC MINER THOMAS.....	1,000.00
Given in 1929 by his daughters Louise M. Thomas and Mrs. Jessie T. Bennett (an additional \$1,000.00 is to come later from his estate).	
EDWARD WELLES	1,000.00
ANNIE AUGUSTA WRIGHT (Bequest).....	1,000.00
The Life memberships belong in this group, as according to the By-Laws they are to be invested for the endowment and only the interest to be used. There are to date one hundred and ninety Life memberships in the General Endowment.	

NESBITT FUND.

In 1924 Abram G. Nesbitt promised to give fifty thousand dollars if the Society raised a like sum, the entire amount to be held in the Trust Department of the Second National Bank. At the time of Mr. Nesbitt's death this amount had not been secured, but his bequest of sixty-five thousand dollars provided for its ultimate completion. This sum may be raised by gifts of one hundred dollars for a Life membership, or more. Fifty Life members have been secured for this. In addition to the following large sums, two gifts of five thousand dollars each are promised upon the completion of the sum.

- \$ 5,000.00 given in 1925 to establish a memorial Endowment membership for HENRY HERBERT ASHLEY, by his three daughters.
 - 5,000.00 given in 1924 to establish a memorial Endowment for LILLIAN FOSTER by her mother, Mrs. Charles Dorrance Foster.
 - 5,000.00 to establish an Endowment membership for Anna Welles Hollenback.
 - 2,500.00 given by DORRANCE REYNOLDS toward first payment on purchase of Institute Building, to be credited to Nesbitt Fund when cost of building is secured.
 - 2,500.00 given similarly by HARRY B. SCHOOLEY.
 - 1,000.00 given in 1924 to establish a memorial Benefactor membership for MRS. R. BRUCE RICKETTS by her daughter, Mrs. William S. MacLean, Jr.
 - 1,000.00 given in 1925 by MRS. ANNIE E. (HOYT) SHOEMAKER (Mrs. George).
 - 2,000.00 given 1925-28 by Edward Welles, Jr.
-

SPECIAL FUNDS.

The special funds have been given in response to special needs of the Society, to provide the costs of addresses and lecturers, for additions to library and museum collections, for the publication of valuable material, etc.

These special funds are all of private origin and were given on the distinct condition that the income from them would be used only for the purpose specified in the gift, hence it could not be used for the general or current expenses of the Society. The special funds, given with the condition of investment of principal, interest only to be used are as follows:

JOSEPH SWIFT BALCH.....	\$ 2,000.00
Created by his brother, Edwin Swift Balch for the purchase of books—not genealogical.	
ZEBULON BUTLER	1,000.00
Given in 1903 by his heirs for the purchase of local Indian relics, ethnological books and the ethnological publications of the Society.	
COXE PUBLICATION FUND	10,000.00
Given about February 11, 1908, by the Coxe family of Drifton to provide for the annual publications of the Society, toward which Eckley B. Coxe, Jr., gave \$5,000.00, Mrs. Eckley Brinton Coxe and Mrs. Alexander B. Coxe, \$5,000.00.	
REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.....	1,500.00
Created May, 1907, by Mr. Hayden to secure an annual geo- logical address before the Society, the manuscripts to belong to the Society to be published by them, for the purpose of establish- ing exchange relations with other Geological Societies.	
ANDREW HUNLOCK	2,000.00
One thousand dollars was given in 1910 to meet the great need of binding historical periodicals, pamphlets, etc., by creating a binding fund, and later, by bequest, Mr. Hunlock doubled the amount of the fund.	
CHARLES F. INGHAM, M. D.....	500.00
(Minimum \$1,000.00) created in December, 1898 by the Society for Geological purposes.	
RALPH D. LACOE	1,000.00
Created in February, 1902 partly by gift of the family of Mr. Lacoe and partly by the Society, through the sale of its publica- tions—for paleozoic and geological purposes.	
AUGUSTUS C. LANING	1,000.00
Given in January, 1908, by Mrs. George Cotton Smith in memory of her father, to provide an annual historical address before the Society.	
KATHERINE (SEARLE) McCARTNEY.....	500.00
Established in 1922 by the bequest of her daughter, Mrs. Eleanor (McCartney) Bamford for the purchase of genea- logies.	
THE CHARLES ABBOT MINER FUND.....	1,000.00
Given in 1909 by his family for the purchase of geological books and specimens, lectures, etc.	
SHELDON REYNOLDS	1,000.00
Given by his family in 1896 for a memorial library of rare American history.	
STANLEY WOODWARD	1,000.00
Created by his sons in honor of his having been a founder, to provide an annual historical paper to be read before the Society.	
HARRISON WRIGHT	1,000.00
A gift from his relatives in 1895 to create a memorial library of English heraldry and genealogy.	

CERTAIN SPECIAL FUNDS.

Certain special funds have been given not for investment, but to be expended for some definite need.

BENJAMIN DORRANCE, 1925-29.....	\$ 1,000.00
The money establishing this Benefactor membership was given from time to time by his daughter for some special, permanent need of the Society, books, printing, etc.	
ANNA PAYNE, 1923	1,000.00
Given by her father, William T. Payne, for archaeological investigations of Rock Shelters by Max Schrabisch. Report published in volume 19 of the Society's Proceedings and Collections.	
SHELDON REYNOLDS MEMORIAL FUND, 1927.....	25,000.00
Given by his son, Colonel Dorrance Reynolds, to be used for the collecting, editing, and publishing of all possible source material, relating to the Connecticut migration to the Susquehanna lands.	

BENEFACTOR MEMBERSHIPS

Established by gifts of articles, not money.

During the existence of the Society certain special gifts have been received, which have materially increased the value of its collections.

WILLIAM STERLING ROSS—1858.

Gift of the "Chambers" collection of coins and other curiosities purchased for \$2,000.00 at the sale of the Abbott Museum which formed a nucleus for the Society's museum and gave the Society a prestige and recognition among friends of science everywhere.

ISAAC SMITH OSTERHOUT—1858.

Provision in his will that the Directors of the Osterhout Free Library set aside space to accommodate the collections of the Historical Society including repairs, light and heat, which led to the erection in 1893 of the present building, now inadequate.

STEUBEN JENKINS—1926.

Gift from his descendants of valuable local manuscripts.

WILLIAM A. WILCOX—1927.

Gift of valuable local manuscripts.

CHRISTOPHER WREN—1928.

Made Benefactor by Trustees in return for gift of the remainder of his Indian collection by his sisters, Misses Annie B. and Catherine Wren of Kingston and Mrs. Fehr of York, Pennsylvania.

At the time these special funds were given, the amounts were sufficient to provide an adequate income for the purposes designated, but the increased costs of everything including lectures, and publications require nearly double the available income—necessitating, supplementing or combining the sums received annually.. Therefore, to accomplish the purpose desired, all these funds should be enlarged.

There are other needs for which members are urged to contribute to meet the growing work of the Society, the only organization of its kind and importance in the State, outside of Philadelphia. Why not mention in your Will gifts for the increase of these Funds and so perpetuate your own name by useful giving that will live after you?

OFFICERS FOR 1930.**President.**

DORRANCE REYNOLDS.

Vice Presidents.

WILLIAM H. CONYNGHAM.

GILBERT S. McCLINTOCK

ABRAM NESBITT, 2d.

MRS. FREDERICK HILLMAN.

Recording Secretary.

SAMUEL C. CHASE.

Treasurer.

CHARLES W. LAYCOCK.

Trustees.

THEODORE BARBER.

J. CAMPBELL COLLINS.

JOHN H. BLACKMAN, Jr.

JOHN C. HADDOCK.

WILLIAM B. BREWSTER.

ROBERT MINER.

LEWIS TAYLOR BUCKMAN, M. D.

BRUCE PAYNE.

MALCOLM BURNSIDE.

HARRY B. SCHOOLEY.

Trustees Committees.

BUILDING AND EQUIPMENT—MESSRS. CHASE, BUCKMAN, and MINER.

FINANCE—MESSRS. REYNOLDS, BARBER, CONYNGHAM, LAYCOCK, MINER and SCHOOLEY.

MEMBERSHIP—MESSRS. CHASE, BURNSIDE and BLACKMAN.

COAL—MESSRS. HADDOCK and PAYNE.

MANUSCRIPT AND LANDMARKS—MESSRS. BREWSTER, COLLINS and McCLINTOCK.

LECTURES—MRS. FREDERICK HILLMAN.

Curators.

NUMISMATICS—HARRY B. SCHOOLEY.

MINERALOGY—WILLIAM R. RICKETTS.

ANTHRACITE COAL AND } COAL MINING } FREDERIC E. ZERBEY.

ARCHAEOLOGY—WILLIAM J. ROBBINS.

Historian.

WILLIAM A. WILCOX.

Historiographer.

KATHLEEN HAND.

**DECEASED MEMBERS SINCE PUBLICATION
OF VOLUME XX.**

BENEFACITOR.

LEWIS HARLOW TAYLOR, M. D.

LIFE.

FANNY (LOVELAND) BRODHEAD (MRS. R. P.)
GRACE (LEA) HUNT (MRS. C. P.)
REV. JOSEPH MURGAS.
ELLA (REETS) PARRISH (MRS. FRED.).
HARRY FRANKLIN STERN.
MARTHA (SHARPE) TUCKER (MRS. HENRY ST. GEORGE).
ANTHONY LAWRENCE WILLIAMS.

ANNUAL.

Sustaining.

CHARLES E. CLIFT.

Regular.

J. J. BECKER.

ELLEN (NELSON) BENNETT (MRS. GEORGE S.).

HENRY J. CARR.

WALTER B. DANDO.

GEORGE T. DICKOVER.

HARRY L. FRENCH.

ISABELLA GILCHRIST.

PEDRO R. GILLOTT.

THOMAS M. HERBERT.

WILLIAM S. McLEAN, Sr.

GRANVILLE T. MATLACK, M. D.

M. E. MOORE.

MULFORD MORRIS.

R. V. A. NORRIS.

ROBERT A. QUIN.

VICTOR S. ROBINSON.

HAROLD M. SHOEMAKER.

FREDERIC W. STARK.

LOUISE M. STOECKEL, M. D.

ISAAC M. THOMAS.

SARA N. YOUNGBLOOD (MRS. F. J.).

NECROLOGY.

J. J. BECKER,

prominent in business life in Wilkes-Barre for many years, as confectioner, and vice-president of Wilkes-Barre Savings and Deposit Bank, died on March 3, 1930. He had been a member of the Society since 1923.

MRS. ELLEN WOODWARD NELSON BENNETT (MRS. GEO. S.),

born November 24, 1849, died November 26, 1928, in Wilkes-Barre, where she had lived all her life. She was the daughter of the prominent educator, Rev. Reuben Nelson, the first principal of Wyoming Seminary. She married in 1872, George Slocum Bennett, descendant of the earliest settlers in the Wyoming Valley, and a great nephew of Frances Slocum, the "lost sister of Wyoming", who was stolen by the Indians at the time of the Battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778. Mrs. Bennett had been a member of the Society since 1923.

MRS. FANNY (LOVELAND) BRODHEAD (MRS. ROBERT P.), was the daughter of William and Lydia Hurlburt Loveland and descended from old and prominent families of the Wyoming Valley. She was active in civic and church affairs and was a graduate of Vassar College. She died August 23, 1928. Mrs. Brodhead became a Life member of the Society in 1916.

HENRY JAMES CARR,

who for 38 years had been librarian of Scranton Public Library, died on May 21, 1929, aged 79 years. He had been a member of the Society since 1914.

CHARLES E. CLIFT,

a graduate of Brown University 1897, member of F. W. Woolworth Company, and a resident of Wilkes-Barre for several years, was born in Middletown Springs, Vermont, March 9, 1870, and died January 10, 1928. Mr. Clift was particularly interested in civic affairs and his death was thought to have been hastened by his leadership in a successful Y. M. C. A. Drive. He had been a sustaining member of the Society since 1924.

WALTER B. DANDO,

aged 23 at time of his death December 29, 1929, the son of Mr. and Mrs. John H. Dando. He became a member of the Society in 1929.

GEORGE T. DICKOVER,

born January 28, 1849, a member of an old Wilkes-Barre family and a well known business man, died June 28, 1928. He became a member of the Society in 1923.

HARRY LIVINGSTONE FRENCH,

born in Plymouth, November 21, 1871, died January 17, 1928. He was well known as an architect and was descended from old Wyoming Valley families. Mr. French became a member of the Society in 1907.

MISS ISABEL M. GILCHRIST,

a descendant of the colonial family of Horton street, the homestead of John Horton of the Revolution still stands at the foot of Division street on Carey avenue. Miss Gilchrist died October 24, 1929, at her summer home at Harvey's Lake; she had been a member of the Historical Society since 1923.

PROF. PEDRO RAMON GILLOTT,

a native of Cuba, born December 31, 1866, came to the United States in 1880, and graduated from Wesleyan University in 1892, later studying at Heidelberg, Germany. In 1894 he was called as head of the English Department of the Wyoming Seminary, Kingston, Pa., but after a few years he took up his chosen field, languages, of which he was past master. As teacher of the modern and classic languages, he achieved national recognition as an outstanding secondary school educator.

Many times he was pressed into other branches of teaching as his knowledge of history, mathematics, philosophy, etc., was unbounded. His students, scattered all over the world, mourn him not only as their teacher, but as a wise friend. He died January 11, 1930. He had been a member of the Society since 1927.

THOMAS M. HERBERT,

born in Carbon county, Pa., in 1868, became a lawyer at Luzerne County Bar in 1895, where he was well known as a defense lawyer. He had been a member of the Society since 1927. Mr. Herbert died September 2, 1929.

MRS. GRACE (LEA) HUNT,

a native of New Orleans, daughter of the late Judge James Neilson Lea, and descendant of well-known colonial families, was widely known in this community, for her many beautiful and noble qualities. She married Charles Parrish Hunt of this city April 6, 1875, and had been a distinguished resident here since that time. Mrs. Hunt passed away March 28, 1930. She became a Life member of the Society in 1927, having been an Annual member from 1923 to 1927.

DR. GRANVILLE T. MATLACK,

a prominent physician and surgeon, died July 26, 1928. He was born February 5, 1862, at Downingtown, Chester County, Pa., graduated from Jefferson Medical College in 1884, and came to Wilkes-Barre soon afterwards. Dr. Matlack attained great prominence in his profession. He became a member of the Society in 1900.

WILLIAM SWAN McLEAN,

died June 19, 1929, at the age of 88, having been born May 27, 1841. Educated at Wyoming Seminary and graduated from Lafayette College in 1865, he was admitted to the bar of Luzerne County in 1867, and became one of its most prominent members. His private library was a noted one. He had been a member of the Society for sixty years, since 1870.

MULFORD MORRIS,

died on March 3, 1929, at the age of 39 years; he was a lawyer and the son of Rev. E. J. Morris, a prominent figure of the community. Mr. Morris was a member of the artillery branch of the American Army during the World War, and had been a member of the Society since 1923.

MARTIN E. MOORE,

of Wilkes-Barre, born 1860, died December 23, 1929, was at his death the dean of the real estate men in Wilkes-Barre and vicinity. He was connected with many societies and had been a member of the Society since 1923.

REV. JOSEPH MURGAS,

noted scientist and an esteemed Slovak priest died May 11, 1929, aged 65. He was a pioneer in the development of the wireless system even before Marconi perfected his system.

Father Murgas was also a naturalist and artist. He was honored for his service during the World War and was presented with a medal by the government of Czechoslovakia, in which country he was born, February 17, 1864. Among all his high attainments Father Murgas is spoken of first as a man of God; his talents being subservient to the good of his church and his people. He was in charge of the Sacred Heart Church of Wilkes-Barre. Rev. Joseph Murgas became a Life member of the Society in 1927.

ROBERT VAN ARSDALE NORRIS,

a widely known mining engineer, died May 20, 1928. He was born at Newark, New Jersey, May 2, 1864, and a graduate at Columbia School of Mines in 1885. He was of unusual ability as a mining expert and a lecturer. He became a member of the Society in 1896.

MRS. ELLEN (REETS) PARRISH (MRS. FRED. B.)

a prominent resident of this community and widow of Frederick B. Parrish, president of several coal companies, was the daughter of the late Charles F. Reets. Mrs. Parrish had been a Life member of the Society since 1896. She died February 9, 1929?

ROBERT A. QUIN,

born in Pottsville, January 17, 1864, became a prominent coal company executive, as vice-president of the Susquehanna Collieries Company. He died as a result of a fall on the ice in Wilkes-Barre, January 23, 1929. Mr. Quin was a man of outstanding ability in the anthracite coal business and was a member of many societies; he had been a member of this Society since 1908.

VICTOR S. ROBINSON,

a leading man in the real estate business in the Wyoming Valley, died on January 12, 1930. He was born February 6, 1885, and had been educated as a teacher. Mr. Robinson was a member of many societies and a member of this Society since 1923.

HAROLD MERCER SHOEMAKER,

a descendant of some of the oldest families of this community died on May 16, 1929, aged 47 years. Among his ancestors were Col. Nathan Denison in command of the

troops at the Battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778, and Lt. Elijah Shoemaker, who was killed in that battle. Mr. Shoemaker became a member of the Society in 1907.

FREDERIC W. STARK,

died October 28, 1929, was born April 30, 1870, educated in Wilkes-Barre, became a prominent business man, being associated with the Dupont Powder Company. He was a member of many clubs and had been a member of the Society since 1923.

HARRY FRANKLIN STERN,

born in Philadelphia in 1855, died February 23, 1928. He removed to Wilkes-Barre in 1899, when he became a member of the firm of Isaac Long. He was unusually interested in civic and artistic affairs, and became a life member of the Society in 1923.

DR. LOUISE M. STOECKEL,

who died January 14, 1929, in her 83d year, was a pioneer professional woman of this county. She taught in different localities in the county for a time and by her own efforts graduated from the Woman's Medical College, Philadelphia in 1890. She practised medicine to almost the last of her life. She was a member of many organizations, among them this Society.

DR. LEWIS H. TAYLOR,

a distinguished citizen of Wilkes-Barre, born July 29, 1850, died November 5, 1928. He was a teacher in this city for several years and then studied medicine at the University of Pennsylvania and graduated in 1880; he also studied in Vienna, Austria, in 1883-84. He took up the special study of the eye, ear, nose and throat. Dr. Taylor was eminent not only as a physician but as a citizen of many splendid characteristics and personalities.

He had been the First Vice-President of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society for the past twenty-three years and a Benefactor since 1893. In his death, the Society has sustained the loss of a valued officer and member whose unfailing co-operation and generosity have been a constant source of encouragement and help.

ISAAC M. THOMAS,

born February 1, 1844, died January 30, 1928. A life-long resident of Wilkes-Barre and descendant of pioneer families,

he was identified with many business interests in the community and was trustee and director of many boards. He was a member and trustee of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society from 1915 to the time of his death. Mr. Thomas was noted for charitable giving and interest in worthy causes.

MRS. MARTHA (SHARPE) TUCKER (MRS. HENRY ST. G.), a member of a prominent Wilkes-Barre family and wife of a distinguished Virginian politician and legislator, died February 18, 1928. Mrs. Tucker was a graduate of Vassar College and was a member of the Board of Directors of that institution. She became a life member of the Society in 1900.

ANTHONY L. WILLIAMS,

aged 67 years, died August 5, 1929, at Portland, Oregon, while on a trip to Alaska. He was a member of the Bar of Luzerne County, and was associated with many societies and institutions of Luzerne County. Mr. Williams became a Life member of the Society in 1907.

MRS. SARAH NIXON YOUNGBLOOD (MRS. F. J.),

a native of the Wyoming Valley, died on May 22, 1929. She was a member of the D. A. R. and other societies, and joined this Society in 1926.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP,

JULY 15, 1930.

HONORARY.

- Joseph Barrell, Ph. D.
*Rev. Wm. M. Beauchamp, S. T. D.
Archaeologist, author.
L. Vernon Briggs, M. D., Author.
Clarence Chamberlin, Aviator.
Reuben Nelson Davis. Naturalist, author.
Rev. George P. Donehoo, D. D., Historian, archaeologist.
*Hon. Samuel Abbott Green, LL. D.
Historian, genealogist, author.
*Rev. Samuel Hart, D. D. Historian,
author.
*Rt. Rev. J. M. Levering, D. D.
*Thomas Lynch Montgomery, Litt. D.
Librarian.
- Arthur C. Parker. Archaeologist, author.
Frederick B. Peck, Ph. D. Geologist.
*Joseph George Rosengarten, LL. D.
William Berryman Scott, Ph. D. Geologist.
John L. Stewart, Ph. D.
Lion Gardiner Tyler, LL. D. Genealogist, author.
Rev. Ethelbert Dudley Warfield, LL. D.
Historian.
David White. Geologist.
Edward H. Williams, Jr., F. G. S. A.
Engineer, geologist, author.

Information on the life and work of these members will be much appreciated.

CORRESPONDING.

- *Edwin Swift Balch. Author.
*Thomas Willing Balch. Lawyer.
John Seymour Ball.
*Edmund Mills Barton. Librarian.
*D. L. Belden. Ornithologist.
*A. F. Berlin. Archaeologist.
Maynard Bixby, Mineralogist.
T. V. Braidwood.
Philip Alexander Bruce, LL. D. Historian, author.
D. M. Collins.
*Stewart Culin.
Samuel L. Cutter.
John H. Dager.
N. H. Darton, F. G. S. A. U. S. Geologist.
Harry Cassel Davis, A. M., Ph. D., Sec. of George Washington University.
Rev. Samuel Bayard Dod, A. M.
Elnathan F. Duren.
George M. Elwood, F. R. M. S. Biologist.
William Frear, Ph. D. Chemist.
Hon. John Gosse Freeze.
Frank Butler Gay. Librarian.
P. C. Gritman.
Stephen Harding.
*Deceased.
- A. L. Hartwell.
Thomas Cramer Hopkins, Ph. D. Geologist.
Ray Greene Huling, Sc. D. Archaeologist.
Hon. William Hunting Jessup. Jurist.
Charles Johnson.
James Furman Kemp, Ph. D. Geologist.
Rev. Charles H. Kidder.
J. R. Loomis, M. D.
Hon. John Maxwell.
Edward Miller.
*Millard P. Murray.
John Peters.
James H. Phinney.
William Poillon.
S. R. Reading.
J. C. Rhodes.
Henry M. M. Richards. Historian, author.
William M. Samson.
Gertrude (Griffith) Sanderson.
W. H. Starr.
Thomas Sweet, M. D.
Samuel French Wadham. Lawyer.
Abraham Waltham.
Margaret (Lacoe) White (Mrs. Baird).

Information on the life and work of these members will be much appreciated.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

lxix

PERPETUAL MEMBERS.

FOUNDERS.

*John Butler Conyngham.
*James Plater Dennis.

*Hon. Henry Martyn Hoyt.
*Hon. Stanley Woodward.

PATRONS.

*John Welles Hollenback.

*Abram Nesbitt.

ENDOWMENT.

ERRATA.

Page LXXII, second column:

Insert, * Theodore Strong (memorial by his daughter,
Mrs. May Strong Watson (Mrs. W. L.).

Page LXXIII, first column:

Cancel, W. L. Watson Memorial, etc.

Through a misunderstanding this memorial was re-
corded instead of the one for Mr. Strong, long a resi-
dent of Wyoming Valley.

Samuel Nesbitt.
*Isaac Smith Osterhout.

*Harrison Wright.

LIFE.

*Lucy W. Abbott.
John H. Abbott.
Frederick W. Ahlborn.
Marion (Ashley) Ahlborn (Mrs. F. W.).
*Emily Isabella Alexander.
*Caroline (Beadle) Ashley (Mrs. H. H.).
*Lucius Ashley.
Thomas Henry Atherton.

Clare (Hillman) Ayars (Mrs. Shepherd).
Mary Slocum (Butler) Ayres (Mrs.
Eugene B.).
Theodore S. Barber.
Katherine (Derr) Barney (Mrs. Austin
D.).
Stanley Barney.
*Gustav Adolph Bauer.

*Deceased.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP,

JULY 15, 1930.

HONORARY.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Joseph Barrell, Ph. D. | Arthur C. Parker. Archaeologist, author. |
| *Rev. Wm. M. Beauchamp, S. T. D. | Frederick B. Peck, Ph. D. Geologist. |
| Archaeologist, author. | *Joseph George Rosengarten, LL. D. |
| L. Vernon Briggs, M. D., Author. | William Berryman Scott, Ph. D. Geol- |
| Clarence Chamberlin, Aviator. | <i>o</i> gelist |

of George Washington University.
Rev. Samuel Bayard Dod, A. M.
El Nathaniel F. Duren.
George M. Elwood, F. R. M. S. Biologist.
William Frear, Ph. D. Chemist.
Hon. John Gosse Freeze.
Frank Butler Gay. Librarian.
P. C. Gritman.
Stephen Harding.

J. C. Rhodes.
Henry M. M. Richards. Historian,
author.
William M. Samson.
Gertrude (Griffith) Sanderson.
W. H. Starr.
Thomas Sweet, M. D.
Samuel French Wadham. Lawyer.
Abraham Waltham.
Margaret (Lacoe) White (Mrs. Baird).
*Deceased.

Information on the life and work of these members will be much appreciated.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

lxix

PERPETUAL MEMBERS.

FOUNDERS.

- *John Butler Conyngham.
- *James Plater Dennis.

- *Hon. Henry Martyn Hoyt.
- *Hon. Stanley Woodward.

PATRONS.

- *John Welles Hollenback.

- *Abram Nesbitt.

ENDOWMENT.

- *Henry Herbert Ashley (memorial by his three daughters).
- *Eckley Brinton Coxe, 2nd.
- *Lillian Foster (memorial by her mother). Anna Welles Hollenback.

BENEFACTORS.

- *Edwin Swift Balch.
- *Joseph Swift Balch.
- *George Slocum Bennett.
- *Zebulon Butler.
- *Sophia E. (Norris) Coxe (Mrs. Alexander Brinton).
- *Sophie G. (Fisher) Coxe (Mrs. Eckley Brinton).
- *Benjamin Dorrance.
- *Charles Dorrance Foster.
- *Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.
- Amelia Beard Hollenback.
- *Matthias Hollenback.
- *Andrew Hunlock.
- *Steuben Jenkins.
- *Frederick Charles Johnson, M. D.
- *Rev. Jacob Johnson.
- Fred Morgan Kirby.
- *Ralph D. Lacoe.
- *Augustus C. Laning.
- *Hon. Charles Miner.
- *Hon. Charles Abbott Miner.
- *Sidney Roby Miner.
- Abram Nesbitt, 2nd.
- *Abram Goodwin Nesbitt.
- *James Nesbitt.
- Samuel Nesbitt.
- *Isaac Smith Osterhout.

- Anna Payne.
- *Sheldon Reynolds.
- *Elizabeth (Reynolds) Ricketts (Mrs. R. B.), (memorial by Mrs. W. S. McLean, Jr.).
- *William Sterling Ross.
- *Anne E. (Hoyt) Shoemaker (Mrs. George).
- *Elizabeth (Laning) Smith (Mrs. George Cotton).
- *Sara (Nesbitt) Smythe (Mrs. Hugh).
- *L. Denison Stearns (memorial by his parents).
- Anna Hollenback Taylor.
- *Lewis Harlow Taylor, M. D.
- Emily (Hollenback) Taylor (Mrs. Lewis H.).
- *Isaac M. Thomas (memorial by his daughters, Louise M. Thomas and Jessie (Thomas) Bennett).
- *Edward Welles.
- Edward Welles, Jr.
- William A. Wilcox.
- *Hon. Stanley Woodward.
- *Christopher Wren.
- *Anna Wright.
- *Harrison Wright.

LIFE.

- *Lucy W. Abbott.
- John H. Abbott.
- Frederick W. Ahlborn.
- Marion (Ashley) Ahlborn (Mrs. F. W.).
- *Emily Isabella Alexander.
- *Caroline (Beadle) Ashley (Mrs. H. H.).
- *Lucius Ashley.
- Thomas Henry Atherton.

- Clare (Hillman) Ayars (Mrs. Shepherd).
- Mary Slocum (Butler) Ayres (Mrs. Eugene B.).
- Theodore S. Barber.
- Katherine (Derr) Barney (Mrs. Austin D.).
- Stanley Barney.
- *Gustav Adolph Bauer.

*Deceased.

- *George Reynolds Bedford.
- *Emily (Fuller) Bedford (Mrs. Geo. R.).
- Paul Bedford.
- *Martha Bennett.
- *Priscilla (Lee) Bennett (Mrs. Ziba P.).
- Z. Platt Bennett.
- Charles Welles Bixby.
- Edward Welles Bixby, M. D.
- *Joseph Habersham Bradley, Jr.
- *William Brisbane, M. D.
- Charles Brodhead.
- *Robert Packer Brodhead.
- *Fannie (Loveland) Brodhead (Mrs. R. P.).
- Edith Brower.
- Percy A. Brown.
- *Samuel LeRoi Brown.
- E. U. Buckman, M. D.
- Lewis T. Buckman, M. D.
- Bernard F. Burgunder.
- Emily (Ryman) Burlingham (Mrs. Edward J.).
- Anthony C. Campbell.
- *Phineas M. Carhart.
- George W. Carr, M. D.
- Louise (Clarkson) Carr (Mrs. George W.).
- George H. Catlin, LL.D.
- Helen (Walsh) Catlin (Mrs. Geo. H.).
- *Sterling Ross Catlin.
- Grace G. Clift (Mrs. C. E.).
- J. Campbell Collins.
- M. E. Comerford.
- George Guthrie Conyngham.
- John Nesbitt Conyngham.
- Bertha (Robinson) Conyngham (Mrs. John N.).
- *Mae (Turner) Conyngham (Mrs. W. H.).
- William Hillard Conyngham.
- Jessie (Guthrie) Conyngham (Mrs. W. H.).
- *William Lord Conyngham.
- William Lord Conyngham, 2nd.
- Bolton G. Coon.
- *Frederic Corss (memorial by his wife Mrs. Frederic Corss).
- Martha (Hoyt) Corss (Mrs. Frederic).
- Hon. Clarence D. Coughlin.
- Henry Hall Covell, M. D.
- *Alexander Brinton Coxe.
- *Eckley Brinton Coxe.
- *John M. Crane.
- *Nathan Beach Crary.
- *Edmund Lovell Dana.
- *Alice (McClintock) Darling (Mrs. Vaughn).
- *Edward Payson Darling.
- *Thomas Darling.
- Katherine Dickson Darte.
- Dorothy Ellen (Dickson) Darte (Mrs. Franck G.).
- Andrew Livingston Davenport.
- *Andrew Fine Derr.
- Andrew Fine Derr, Jr.
- Elizabeth Lowrie Derr.
- Harriet (Lowrie) Derr (Mrs. Andrew F.).
- *Henry Haupt Derr.
- *Mary D. (Fell) Derr (Mrs. H. H.).
- Olin Derr.
- Thompson Derr, 2nd.
- H. B. De Witt.
- Harriet F. (Stephens) De Witt.
- *Allan Hamilton Dickson.
- Kate (Pettebone) Dickson (Mrs. Allan H.).
- *Charles Dorrance.
- Charles Dorrance, E. M.
- *Rev. John Dorrance.
- Clark Wright Evans.
- Marion Annette Evans.
- *Alexander Farnham.
- *Jesse Fell.
- Joseph Fleitz.
- *Liddon Flick.
- Reuben Jay Flick.
- Fred S. Fowler.
- Louis Frank.
- C. G. Goeringer.
- *Joseph Wright Graeme.
- C. C. Groblewski, M. D.
- Malcolm Guthrie, M. D.
- Sarah H. (Wright) Guthrie (Mrs. Geo. W.).
- John C. Haddock.
- *Elisha Atherton Hancock.
- Bayard Hand.
- *Garrick Mallery Harding.
- Daniel L. Hart.
- *Henry Harrison Harvey.
- *Jennie (DeWitt) Harvey (Mrs. H. H.).
- *Jameson Harvey.
- Robert R. Harvey.

*Deceased.

- *James C. Haydon.
- Hon. E. Foster Heller.
- Tuthill R. Hillard.
- Doris Hillman.
- Frances Parrish Hillman.
- Frederick Hillman.
- Mabel (Murphy) Hillman (Mrs. Frederick).
- George Baker Hillman.
- *Henry Baker Hillman.
- *George Matson Hollenback.
- *Juliette Genève Hollenback.
- *Elizabeth Waller Horton.
- *Abraham Goodwin Hoyt.
- *Augusta Hoyt.
- *Edward Everett Hoyt.
- *John Dorrance Hoyt.
- *Martha Goodwin Hoyt.
- C. F. Huber.
- Leonore B. (Jones) Humphrey (Mrs. J. M.).
- Hannah (Crouse) Hughes (Mrs. R. M.).
- James H. Hughes.
- William Frank Hughes.
- Anna M. Hunt.
- Charles P. Hunt.
- *Grace (Lea) Hunt (Mrs. C. P.).
- *Francis William Hunt.
- Lea Hunt.
- *Charles Farmer Ingham, M. D.
- Georgia (Post) Johnson (Mrs. F. C.).
- Frederick Green Johnson.
- Carleton C. Jones.
- *Edwin Horn Jones.
- *Rev. Henry L. Jones, S. T. D.
- Lawrence B. Jones.
- Martha (Bennett) Jones (Mrs. Lawrence B.).
- *Richard Jones.
- William J. Kear.
- P. S. Kiely.
- Allan P. Kirby.
- Jessie A. (Owen) Kirby (Mrs. Fred. M.).
- Edgar L. Klipple.
- *George Brubaker Kulp.
- John Laning.
- *William Arthur Lathrop.
- Harriet (Williams) Lathrop (Mrs. W. A.).
- *Woodward Leavenworth.
- *Woodward Leavenworth, Jr.
- *George Cahoon Lewis.
- *William Drake Loomis (memorial by Mrs. Loomis).
- *Edward Sterling Loop.
- Charles Noyes Loveland.
- *Elizabeth Shephard Loveland.
- *George Loveland.
- George Loveland.
- Josephine N. Loveland.
- *William Loveland.
- *Andrew Hamilton McClintock.
- *Augusta (Cist) McClintock (Mrs. Andrew Todd).
- †Gilbert S. McClintock.
- Margaret McLean.
- MacWilliam's.
- *William Ross Maffet.
- *John Miner Carey Marble.
- Alvan Markle.
- John Markle.
- Frank F. Matheson.
- Mrs. Burr Churchill Miller.
- Burr Churchill Miller, Jr.
- Reynolds Churchill Miller.
- *Asher Miner.
- Charles Howard Miner, M. D.
- *Eliza Ross (Atherton) Miner (Mrs. C. A.).
- *Charles Morgan.
- *Rev. Joseph Murgas.
- *Frances E. (Parrish) Murphy (Mrs. Jos. A.).
- *Joseph Andrew Murphy (memorials by their daughter, Mrs. Mabel (Murphy) Hillman (Mrs. Frederick)).
- *Lawrence Myers.
- *Frederick Nesbitt.
- Fredericka Nesbitt.
- *George Francis Nesbitt.
- *Ralph Nesbitt.
- *Sara Myers (Goodwin) Nesbitt (Mrs. Abram).
- Daniel Edwards Newell.
- George Nicholson.
- Esther (Shoemaker) Norris (Mrs. R. V. A.).
- *Anna (Miller) Oliver (Mrs. Allan M.).
- *Lewis Compton Paine.
- *Henry W. Palmer.
- *Rev. Nathan Grier Parke.
- †F. E. Parkhurst, Sr.
- *Charles Parrish.

^{*}Deceased.

[†]Also Supporting member.

[‡]Also Sustaining member.

- *Mary (Conyngham) Parrish (Mrs. Charles).
 - *Ella (Reets) Parrish (Mrs. Fred. B.).
 - *Calvin Parsons.
 - *Oliver Alphonso Parsons.
 - *Joseph Emmet Patterson.
 - *William Grant Payne.
 - William Theodore Payne.
 - *Payne Pettebone.
 - *Francis Alexander Phelps.
 - *John Case Phelps.
 - *Martha (Bennett) Phelps (Mrs. John C.).
 - Rollo Green Plumb.
 - William John Raeder.
 - *John Reichard, Jr.
 - *Annie B. (Dorrance) Reynolds (Mrs. Sheldon).
 - *Benjamin Reynolds.
 - Grace (Fuller) Reynolds (Mrs. Benjamin).
 - Dorrance Reynolds.
 - Mabel (Doudge) Reynolds (Mrs. Dorrance).
 - Edith Lindsley Reynolds.
 - *George Murray Reynolds.
 - Schuyler Lee Reynolds.
 - *William Champion Reynolds.
 - *Charles Francis Richardson.
 - Elizabeth Miner (Thomas) Richardson (Mrs. Chas. F.).
 - *Robert Bruce Ricketts, 2nd.
 - William Reynolds Ricketts.
 - *Ferdinand Vandevere Rockafellow.
 - Helen Ross.
 - Mary Ross.
 - E. M. Rosser.
 - Roselys Ryman.
 - *Theodore F. Ryman.
 - *William Penn Ryman.
 - *Charlotte M. Ryman (Mrs. W. P.).
 - Caroline J. (Sharpe) Sanders (Mrs. Marion).
 - William N. Schang.
 - *Joseph John Schooley.
 - Mahlon S. Shaffer.
 - *Elizabeth M. Sharpe.
 - Mary A. Sharpe.
 - *Richard Sharpe, Sr.
 - *Sallie (Patterson) Sharpe (Mrs. Richard).
 - Richard Sharpe.
- *Deceased.*
- †Also Sustaining member.*
- *Sallie Sharpe.
 - Richard Sharpe, Jr.
 - *Arthur Yeager Shepherd.
 - A. C. Shoemaker, M. D.
 - *Charles Jones Shoemaker.
 - *George Shoemaker.
 - *Esther (Stearns) Shoemaker (Mrs. Harold M.).
 - *Irving Stearns Shoemaker.
 - Jane Augusta Shoemaker.
 - *Lazarus Denison Shoemaker.
 - *Levi Ives Shoemaker, M. D.
 - *Cornelia W. (Scranton) Shoemaker (Mrs. Levi I.).
 - Albert D. Shonk.
 - *J. Bennett Smith.
 - Smith-Bennett Corporation.
 - Eleanor Parrish Snyder.
 - Katharine Conyngham Snyder.
 - Hon. A. J. Sordoni.
 - *Frederic W. Stark (Memorial by his wife Mrs. Frederic W.).
 - Mary Louise Stark.
 - *Addison Alexander Sterling.
 - *Harry Franklin Stern.
 - Julius Long Stern.
 - *Forrest Garrison Stevens.
 - Rosa (Sharpe) Stevens (Mrs. Yale).
 - Sarah Covell (Maffet) Stevens (Mrs. C. J.).
 - Walter S. Stewart, M. D.
 - *Thomas Kirkbride Sturdevant.
 - *James Sutton.
 - *John Henry Swoyer.
 - *Ellen E. (Miner) Thomas (Mrs. Jesse).
 - Louise Miner Thomas.
 - *Percy Rutter Thomas.
 - *Sallie Brinton Thomas.
 - *William Tompkins.
 - C. Rosa Troxell.
 - *Ephraim Troxell.
 - *Martha (Sharpe) Tucker (Mrs. Henry St. George).
 - †John Augustus Turner.
 - *Samuel Gonsalus Turner.
 - Louis Hollenback Twyeffort.
 - John H. Uhl.
 - Sarah (James) Uhl (Mrs. Russell).
 - Hon. W. A. Valentine.
 - Isaac S. Van Scyoc.
 - *Stephen Buckingham Vaughn.

- *Esther T. (French) Wadhams (Mrs. Elijah C.).
 - *Frances (Lynde) Wadhams (Mrs. Calvin).
 - Raymond Lynde Wadhams, M. D.
 - *David Jewett Waller.
 - Bessie (Roberts) Warner (Mrs. Sidney).
 - W. O. Washburn.
 - Louis A. Watres.
 - *W. L. Watson (Memorial by his wife May (Strong) Watson (Mrs. W. L.).
 - Frederick J. Weckesser.
 - Stella L. (Hollenback) Welles (Mrs. Edward).
 - *Henry Hunter Welles.
- Frank J. Wilder.**
- *Anthony Lawrence Williams.
 - George Woodward, M. D.
 - Marion (Hillard) Woodward (Mrs. J. B.).
 - Stanley Woodward, Jr.
 - *Emily L. (Cist) Wright (Mrs. Harrison).
 - George Riddle Wright.
 - Harrison Wright, 3d.
 - *Jacob Ridgway Wright.
 - John B. Yeager.
 - Margaret (Myers) Yeager (Mrs. John B.).
 - *Elias Baylits Yordy.

*Deceased.

EXTRACT FROM BY-LAWS.

Perpetual Membership.

Any individual gift of \$10,000.00 shall make the donor a Patron of the Society, or any one whom he may wish to name either as a living or as a memorial Patron.

Any individual gift of \$5,000.00 shall entitle the donor to an Endowment membership personally, or any one whom he may wish to name, either as a living or as a memorial endowment member.

Any person contributing to the Society at any one time a sum not less than \$1,000.00 shall be placed on the Perpetual membership list as a Benefactor either personally, or any one he may name as a living or a memorial Benefactor.

The payment of \$100.00 at any one time by a member not in arrears shall constitute him or any one he may name a Life Member.

The perpetual membership lists shall be published in each volume of the "Proceedings and Collections" of the Society.

All moneys received on account of perpetual memberships shall be securely invested by the Trustees in the name of the Society and shall form a fund either as part of the general endowment, or as a special fund, to be designated by the member, the interest only of which shall be available for the uses of the Society.

The perpetual member is entitled to all the publications and privileges of the Society without further payment of dues. This membership establishes a permanent memorial, which never expiring, always bears interest for the benefit of the Society. It is therefore a *living* membership perpetually.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

ANNUAL MEMBERS.

SUPPORTING.

†Gilbert S. McClintock.

Harry B. Schooley.

SUSTAINING.

Charles H. Biddle.
 Malcolm Burnside.
 *C. E. Clift.
 Henry Lazarus.

George R. McLean.
 Hon. William S. McLean, Jr.
 †F. E. Parkhurst, Sr.
 †John Augustus Turner.

REGULAR.

Edwin W. Abbott.	*Henry James Carr.
Charles E. Ash.	William H. Castle.
Charles M. Austin.	Rev. E. P. Caulfield.
Joshua Baily, Jr.	Harry E. Chase.
Elsie L. Baker.	Samuel Cogswell Chase.
Amy (Sturdevant) Barber (Mrs. Theodore S.).	John M. Cobb.
Wm. T. Barnes.	Joel Cohen.
Godwin Beard.	Mrs. E. A. Conroy.
André A. Beaumont.	William Cary Cooke.
*J. J. Becker.	Bolton G. Coon.
Constance (Reynolds) Belin (Mrs. C. W.).	J. S. Coons.
*Ellen (Nelson) Bennett (Mrs. George).	W. B. Crane.
George Slocum Bennett.	Edith L. Crane (Mrs. W. B.).
Justin Bergman.	Martha L. Crary.
Elma C. Bishop.	Sara Wood Crary.
Helen (Miner) Bixby (Mrs. C. W.).	Jessie W. Cunningham.
John Hughes Blackman.	Charles W. Dana.
John H. Blackman, Jr.	Edmund L. Dana.
C. C. Bowman.	*Walter B. Dando.
Julian Parks Boyd.	Fuller L. Davenport, D. D. S.
Sarah Porter (Smith) Boylston (Mrs. Samuel S.).	George R. Dean.
William Brewster.	H. D. Deemer.
Allan Colby Brooks, M. D.	De Frenes and Company.
Frances E. Brooks.	Ralph E. DeWitt.
Mary G. Brundage.	*George T. Dickover.
Herman Burgin, M. D.	Oscar H. Dilley.
Mildred (Sacks) Burgunder (Mrs. Bernard F.).	Victor Lee Dodson.
Betsy (Denison) Bush (Mrs. Joseph H.).	Anne Dorrance.
B. Harold Carpenter.	Frances Dorrance.
Hon. E. N. Carpenter.	John H. Doughty.
Lansing T. Carpenter.	Muriel (Weston) Doughty (Mrs. J. H.).
Walter S. Carpenter, Sr.	Francis Douglas.

*Deceased.

- Fred. M. Eshelman.
 Bruce M. Espy.
 R. B. Espy.
 Tallie Evans.
 George L. Fenner.
 Gregory Ferenbach.
 Hon. John S. Fine.
 Rev. Frederick L. Flinchbaugh.
 Charles S. Forve.
 Oscar Curtiss Foster.
 Emma (Merril) Frantz (Mrs. G. L. C.).
 Max Friedman.
 W. H. Fregans.
 *Harry L. French.
 Harriet May Fuller.
 Hon. Henry A. Fuller.
 A. S. Galland.
 Minnie (Strauss) Galland (Mrs. George S.).
 John H. Garrahan.
 Rev. Edmund Jayne Gates.
 Helen Gates.
 Mary Gates.
 Natalie Gates.
 James Gibbon.
 *Isabel M. Gilchrist.
 *Pedro R. Gillott.
 Charles K. Gloman.
 Harry F. Goeringer.
 Maude (Whiteman) Goff (Mrs. William S.).
 Ray L. Grant.
 Rev. John Hall Griffith.
 Dorothy (Matlack) Haddock (Mrs. J. C.).
 Jennie (Sharte) Haddock (Mrs. John C., Sr.).
 Anna C. Halsey.
 Margaret (Colton) Hand (Mrs. Bayard).
 Kathleen Hand.
 William G. Harding.
 Ellen (Brisbane) Harding (Mrs. William G.).
 J. Slossen Harding, Jr.
 James P. Harris.
 Caroline I. Harrower.
- Marion (Burgess) Harvey (Mrs. Lanning).
 Mary Harvey.
 Louise B. (Roe) Healy (Mrs. L. W.).
 George P. Heffernan.
 Thomas F. Heffernan.
 Louise E. Heffernan (Mrs. T. F.).
 *Thomas M. Herbert.
 C. F. Hess.
 Elizabeth (Atherton) Hewitt (Mrs. Ashley Cooper).
 Samuel H. Hicks.
 Lord Butler Hillard.
 Oliver C. Hillard.
 Charles W. Honeywell.
 Catherine Horan.
 Mernie (Turrell) Howarth (Mrs. George).
 John T. Howell.
 Maud Buckingham Hoyt.
 John M. Humphrey.
 Lydia Atherton (Stites) Hunt (Mrs. Irving O.).
 E. A. Innes.
 E. R. James.
 John E. Jenkins.
 M. Clark Johnson, M. D.
 Hon. Benjamin R. Jones.
 Mabel (Haddock) Jones (Mrs. Carleton C.).
 Carleton Haddock Jones.
 Edmund E. Jones.
 Henry L. Jones, 2nd.
 Katharine Carleton Jones.
 Harry E. Jordan.
 Ernestine Martin Kaehlin.
 Thomas Hale Keiser.
 Edward H. Kent.
 Claude S. King.
 Ella Kintz.
 Willard Kintz.
 Joseph James Kocyan, M. D.
 Rev. Ferdinand von Krug.
 David H. Lake, M. D.
 Elmer H. Lawall.
 Charles Wilber Laycock.

I. M. Leach, Jr.	Zeta (McGlynn) O'Hara (Mrs. James).
Nellie K. Leach.	Frank Pardee.
Grace A. Leacock.	Israel P. Pardee.
Ida C. (Miller) Leavenworth (Mrs. Woodward).	E. W. Parker.
Charles W. Lee.	F. E. Parkhurst, Jr.
Henry Lees.	N. Grier Parke.
Ida Vie Lendrum.	Zora Gould (Calhoun) Parks (Mrs. A. L.).
Charles L. Levy.	Bruce Payne.
Eva (Goldsmith) Levy (Mrs. Felix).	William H. Peck.
Robert Levy.	William J. Peck.
Asa E. Lewis.	Bruce R. Peters.
W. E. Lewis.	E. R. Pettebone.
Mrs. Edith (Reynolds) Lloyd.	J. S. Pettebone.
Cosmar P. Long.	Stephen C. Pettebone.
Eva (Stewart) Loomis (Mrs. W. D.).	Charles Pfifferling.
John S. Lopatto.	E. D. Phillips.
Flora (Kintz) McCabe (Mrs. Wesley P.).	Myra Poland.
Hetty C. McClelland.	Marion (Weckesser) Pool (Mrs. J. Henry).
Cornelius J. McCole.	Samuel Potts.
*William S. McLean, Sr.	Theodore Carpenter Potts.
Frances Leigh (Ricketts) MacLean (Mrs. William S., Jr.).	Bertha A. Pringle.
Catherine McNelis.	Elizabeth H. Pringle.
Martha Adelia Maffet.	*Robert A. Quin.
Frances G. Markham.	N. H. Raiber.
G. Guthrie Marvin.	J. A. Redington.
*Granville T. Matlack, M. D.	J. Arlington Rees.
Peter P. Mayock, M. D.	J. Herbert Reynolds.
Elmer L. Meyers, M. D.	Pierce Reynolds.
Nat Myers.	William Nicholas Reynolds, Jr.
Sara Miles.	William J. Robbins.
J. M. Miles.	*Victor S. Robinson.
Clara (Gardner) Miller (Mrs. F. S.).	David Rosenthal.
Harry C. Miller.	K. J. Ross.
Grace (Shoemaker) Miner (Mrs. Chas. H.).	Lloyd M. Royer.
Robert C. Miner.	William J. Ruff.
A. E. Moat.	Harold N. Rust.
*M. E. Moore.	Edward F. Ryman.
Benjamin F. Morgan.	Louise (Lynch) Ryman (Mrs. Leslie S.).
Charles E. Morgan.	H. S. Sage.
*Mulford Morris.	Mrs. Louis Schloss.
W. D. Morris, Jr.	Winifred (Griffith) Schooley (Mrs. Harry B.).
Reuben H. Morrish.	Joseph Schuler.
E. B. Mulligan.	Joseph H. Schwartz.
James Mulligan.	Elizabeth (Woodward) Scott (Mrs. E. G.).
Samuel T. Nicholson.	Henry Shapiro.
*R. V. A. Norris.	Louis Shellbach, 3d.
R. V. A. Norris, Jr.	Edward S. Shepherd.
Louis H. O'Connell.	William C. Shepherd.

*Deceased.

*Harold M. Shoemaker.	Elizabeth W. (Ayres) Tompkins (Mrs. W. S.).
Edwin Shortz, Jr.	Mary L. Trescott.
Dorothy P. Skinner (Mrs. Alanson).	Ellen (Page) Trumbower (Mrs. C. K.).
Frank P. Slattery.	Henry C. Turner.
Alexander Sloan.	Richard Turner.
Archie DeWitt Smith.	Anna Elizabeth Turrell.
Ernest G. Smith.	George Henry Turrell.
Marjorie (Harvey) Smith (Mrs. Ernest (G.).	Margaret (Clark) Turrell (Mrs. Geo. H.).
H. S. Smith.	Walter Vandemark.
Ralph Alexander Smith.	Lydia F. Wadham.
Robert C. Smith.	Ralph H. Wadham.
Jessie (Stocker) Smith (Mrs. Robert C.).	Charles B. Waller.
William Henry Smith.	Samuel D. Warriner.
Erskine L. Solomon.	May (Strong) Watson (Mrs. W. L.).
Rev. L. L. Sprague, D. D.	Mary Weir.
Cornelia M. Stark.	Henry Hunter Welles, Jr.
Claire (Warbrick) Stark (Mrs. Frederick W.).	Theodore L. Welles.
S. Judson Stark.	Ambrose West.
Joseph L. Stearns.	Gladys I. Wiener.
Paul Sterling.	Wilkes-Barre Multigraphing Company.
Arline (Payne) Sterling (Mrs. Paul)	Benjamin F. Williams.
W. Carl Sterling.	Hayden Williams.
*Louise M. Stoeckel, M. D.	John D. Williams.
Emilie T. Strauss.	Thomas H. Williams.
W. C. Sutherland.	O. R. Wolfe.
Delbert K. Tarr.	Annie B. Wren.
Edward Sweetser Tillotson.	Stanley M. Yetter.
William Stark Tompkins.	Mrs. James Watts Young.
<hr/>	
*Deceasde.	*Mrs. F. J. Youngblood.
	Frederic Edgar Zerbey.

EXTRACT FROM BY-LAWS.

Any one paying the sum of \$25.00 annually shall be listed as a Sustaining member. Any one paying the sum of \$50.00 annually shall be listed as a Supporting member.

Sustaining and Supporting members who continue their annual payments throughout life shall be entered on a permanent list of such membership.

SUMMARY OF MEMBERSHIP.

July 15, 1930.

Perpetual	366
Founders	4
Patrons	2
Endowment	4
Benefactors	45
Life	311
<hr/>	
Annual	312
Supporting	2
Sustaining	8
Regular	302
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BY-LAWS.*

MEMBERSHIP.

1. The membership shall consist of four classes: HONORARY, CORRESPONDING, ANNUAL and PERPETUAL. Any person of recognized attainments in science or belles-lettres shall be eligible to HONORARY MEMBERSHIP. Any person not residing within Luzerne County may be elected a CORRESPONDING MEMBER. Any person duly elected and paying the annual dues hereinafter stated, shall be an ANNUAL MEMBER. A person shall be eligible for PERPETUAL MEMBERSHIP by paying any of the amounts hereinafter stated as a basis for said membership.

2. For HONORARY MEMBERSHIP, no dues shall be required. For CORRESPONDING MEMBERSHIP, no dues shall be required.

The dues of an *Annual Member* shall be as follows:

Regular Membership, Five dollars per annum.

Sustaining Membership, Twenty-five dollars per annum.

Supporting Membership, Fifty dollars per annum.

Sustaining and supporting Members who continue their annual payments through life shall be entered on a permanent list of such membership.

For PERPETUAL MEMBERSHIP no dues shall be required, but shall be established by the payment of any one of the following stated amounts:

A contribution of One Hundred Dollars to the Society shall entitle the donor to a *Life Membership*.

Any person contributing to the Society a sum not less than One thousand dollars, shall be a *Benefactor* of the Society.

A contribution of not less than Five thousand dollars shall entitle the donor to an *Endowment Membership*.

Any person contributing to the Society a sum not

*Amended at a meeting held Feb. 18. 1930.

less than Ten thousand dollars, shall be a *Patron* of the Society.

Any of the above PERPETUAL MEMBERSHIPS may be established in the name of the donor, or of any living or deceased person or persons selected by the donor.

The PERPETUAL MEMBERSHIP list shall be published in each volume of the Society's "Proceedings and Collections."

All moneys received on account of PERPETUAL MEMBERSHIPS shall be securely invested by the Trustees in the name of the Society, for the general uses of the Society, or for any special purpose or purposes designated by the donor.

3. All names proposed for Honorary, Corresponding or Annual Membership, shall be referred to the Board of Trustees as Committee on Members, and upon the affirmative recommendation of a majority shall be considered elected to membership, and notice sent to that effect. The Board of Trustees, may, by majority approval, place any name on the Perpetual Membership Roll on payment of the required amount for such membership.

4. The fiscal year of the Society shall begin January first, at which time the dues for Annual Members shall become due and payable. Persons elected after October first, in any year, shall be exempt from payment of dues for that year.

5. No member who shall be in arrears for two years shall be entitled to vote or be eligible to any office; any failure to pay annual dues for two consecutive years, after due notice from the Treasurer, shall be considered a forfeiture of membership; and no person whose name shall be expunged from the rolls of the Society under the provision of this clause shall be reinstated without the payment of his arrears.

6. Resignation of Membership shall be made in writing addressed to the President of the Society.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES.

7. The officers of the Society shall be a *President*, a board

of *Trustees* having a membership not less than five nor more than ten, at the discretion of the board, four *Vice Presidents*, a *Secretary*, a *Director*, a *Treasurer*, a *Librarian*, a *Historian*, and a *Historiographer*. The officers shall be elected at the annual meeting, and hold office for one year, or until their successors are elected.

8. The *President*, or in his absence, the highest officer present, shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and regulate the order thereof, and when required give the casting vote. The President shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Board of Trustees.

9. The *Secretary* shall keep full minutes of all meetings, and have the same transcribed into a book of record. He shall have custody of the by-laws, records, and all papers appertaining to his office. He shall give notice of the time and place of all meetings.

10. The *Director* shall have charge of all work that may be undertaken by the Society. He shall formulate and execute the policies of administration of the Society, subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees. He shall conduct all correspondence, and preserve on file all communications addressed to the Society. He shall keep copies of all letters written by him, and read at each meeting such part of the correspondence as the President may direct. He shall notify officers and members of their election, and communicate all special votes to parties interested therein, and acknowledge and record all gifts to the Society.

11. The *Treasurer* shall collect the annual dues of the members and other income of the Society, and deposit the money in one of the Wilkes-Barre banks to the credit of the Society, subject to the check of the Treasurer. He shall pay under proper vouchers all the ordinary expenses of the Society; and shall, at the annual meeting present a statement of the receipts and expenditures during the year, together with a full report of the financial condition of the Society. He

shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in a sum to be fixed by the Trustees, and by them held as security.

12. The *Librarian* shall preserve and arrange in proper order all books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, photographs and other papers of the Society, and keep a catalogue of the same, numbering them with proper numbers of both the general and special catalogues.

13. There shall be one *Curator* for each of the following departments: Archaeology and History; numismatics; Geology; Mines and Mining. Each curator shall have the charge and management of the special department assigned to his care, and shall arrange, classify and catalogue the same in such manner as shall be approved by the Director.

14. The *Trustees* shall have entire charge of the business management of the affairs of the Society. They shall examine and audit the accounts of the Treasurer, and authorize and direct the investment of the surplus funds. They shall make such appropriations from the funds for any purpose or purposes as in their judgment shall seem necessary. They shall have the power to remit the dues of members in cases when circumstances render it proper.

15. The *Historian* shall endeavor to keep the local historical collection up to date and to add to the value of the Society's work by original research, editing of material, collection and preservation of books, etc., in so far as possible.

16. The *Historiographer* shall collate and keep a record of such current events of local or public interest as he may deem worthy of preservation; and prepare notices of members deceased during his term of office.

MISCELLANEOUS.

17. The *annual meeting* shall be held on a date as near the eleventh day of February as practicable. A stated meeting thereafter shall be held on a date as near the fifteenth day of November as practicable. The President may call special

meetings whenever he shall deem it necessary. Six members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting.

18. The *Trustees* shall hold *meetings* prior to the regular meetings of the Society above stated. The President may call special meetings of the Trustees whenever he shall deem it necessary. A majority of the Trustees shall be a quorum.

19. All *reports of Committees* must be in writing and addressed to the President, and shall be received and recorded by the Secretary.

20. All books, pamphlets and manuscripts shall be regularly numbered and marked with the name "Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," and bear the proper numbers of the general and special catalogues.

21. All gifts to the library or cabinet shall, when practicable, have the name of the donor attached thereto.

22. No article belonging to the Society shall be taken from the rooms without permission of the Director.

23. No person shall have the right to use any manuscript of the Society in the preparation of any paper or essay unless such paper or essay shall become its property.

24. Offenses against these by-laws shall be dealt with by the officers and Trustees.

25. The by-laws may be amended at any regular meeting by vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided, the proposed amendment or amendments shall have been read and considered by the Trustees at a preceding meeting.

The order of business at all meetings shall be arranged by the Director as the occasion requires.

THE ANCESTRY OF PRESIDENT HARDING

ERRATA.

Page 10, third line from bottom,

Cut out *it*.

Page 12, third line from top,

bought should be *brought*.

Page 13, tenth line from bottom,

mother should read *ancestress*.

Page 23, eleventh line from bottom,

himself should read *his family*.

Page 39, Note: later research discloses, through legal papers recorded at Wilkes-Barre and Montrose, that Joseph Baker lived at Newton Lake in Clifford Township instead of at Elkdale.

Page 42, Note: Dr. George Tryon Harding, father of President Harding, died Nov. 19, 1929, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. E. E. (Charity M.) Remsberg, at Santa Ana, California.

One notable case was that of a town in Connecticut which probably never had a resident ancestor of the President within its boundaries, claiming that a certain Nathan Harding

meetings whenever he shall deem it necessary. Six members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting.

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THE ANCESTRY OF PRESIDENT HARDING

The interest in genealogy which has been growing in this country for a generation, was greatly stimulated by the World War. Patriotism was brought out of hiding during that struggle and given an airing that proved an incentive to many people to seek admission to membership in patriotic societies. As many of these societies are entered only through family descent, the proof of which is required, the natural result has been a search for ancestors and a study of history sometimes made by those ancestors, that has proved as absorbing to the searcher as cross word puzzles or "ask me another".

Almost universally, this interest in pedigree hunting is a self-centered one, the seeker caring only for his own lineage and interesting himself in no other. A peculiar and striking exception to this was shown during the presidential campaign of 1920, when, seemingly, the whole country was reading the many articles published concerning the ancestors of the Republican standard bearer. As no such interest was shown in the Democratic candidate, we conclude that our people, just emerged from the horrors of war, were in a peculiarly receptive mood to the romantic and tragic Revolutionary war histories of certain members of the Harding family made prominent in these stories.

Genealogists, genealogical societies, magazines and newspapers all entered the field, giving widely different family records; and we had the spectacle of people who never before dreamed of bearing relationship to the Hardings, claiming at least kinship by marriage and frantically searching for proof of the same. Even towns were not exempt from the craze which lasted until after the death of President Harding. One notable case was that of a town in Connecticut which probably never had a resident ancestor of the President within its boundaries, claiming that a certain Nathan Harding

who once lived there was his grandfather. This town, on the strength of its historical mistake, held a special memorial service, August 10, 1923, at which addresses were made by several distinguished men. The State of Vermont also put forth claims similar to this Connecticut town and issued a family record differing from all others.

One genealogist professed to trace the unbroken lineage of the American branch of the Hardings from Canute, the Dane, who ruled England early in the eleventh century, and named many illustrious men as he carried the line down through the centuries to the present time. As he gave authorities for some of his statements, the record as compiled by him may be as true as such records usually are. The entire absence of surnames in ancient times and the disregard by younger sons of the father's name down to, and in the majority of cases even through the middle ages, combined with carelessness in the spelling of names in quite modern times, make the tracing of a family pedigree prior to 1500 an exceedingly difficult and delicate matter.

In 1864 a genealogy¹ was published which contains the results of an exhaustive study of the history of the name Harding. According to this authority it is a name found in all dialects of the Goths and signifies martial valor. It has been traced to France, Germany and Scandinavia and has also been found in Britain prior to the establishment of the feudal system. It seems to have been bestowed indiscriminately upon individuals irrespective of family relationship, and perhaps even upon tribes, as significant of qualities most admired. It is not improbable that the towns in England and northern Europe bearing the name with various suffixes, were the scenes in ancient times of events in which the Goths gloried; but in some instances it may have been

¹ A genealogical register of the descendants of several ancient Puritans", by Rev. Abner Morse, A. M. Published by H. W. Dutton & Son, Boston, in 1864. In four volumes.

given to a locality because it was the frequent, or permanent retreat, or stronghold of some individual, or tribe which had won the name in martial contest. Between the coming of Hengist and Horsa in 449 and the Norman Conquest, the name had been thus given to many places in central and southern Britain and in 1086 there were seven localities in the western part mentioned in Doomsday Book. By that date (1086) the name had become common in the Kingdom as a family name and is recorded in the Latin of the period as Hardinus, Hardine, Hardincus, Hardineus filius Elnodi, Hardingus and Hardingus filius Alnodi, as proprietors, or assignees. It is said that these might have been wholly, or in part Normans, but they were more probably Saxon Thanes continued in their possessions by William the Conqueror. In the 11th century Hardin became a surname under circumstances denoting distinction; and in the early 12th century coats of arms were given men of the name. Burke, in his "General Armory" gives fifteen distinct coats of arms by the name Hardin or Harding, several of which show by their simplicity of design their very early origin.

Having thus early become scattered over England, it is not surprising that, lacking authoritative evidence, the direct source of the New England Hardings should be largely a matter of surmise. No attempt will be made in this paper to clear up or reconcile the many contradictory statements made concerning the relationship of the first of the name to come to this country, or the English home from which they came. That is a matter to be decided by careful search of English records. Herein we can only note what has been done in the past by genealogists of the Harding family.

The genealogy before mentioned, viz.: "Descendants of several ancient Puritans", devotes nearly all of the fourth volume to the Hardings of America. It gives a list of twelve persons of the name who came to New England during the first thirty-five years after the landing of the Pilgrims, but

does not name their ancestors, their relationship to each other (with three exceptions), or the place, or places in old England from whence they came. Their names are:

1. Richard Harding
2. Joseph Harding
3. Abraham Harding
4. Stephen Harding
5. Richard Harnden
6. Edward Haraden
7. Elizabeth Harding. (She came in 1635 with Thomas Buttolph whose wife was her sister. In 1639, when less than seventeen years of age, she married Abraham Harding (No. 3 above) and among the descendants of their son, Abraham, are several distinguished clergymen and an eminent portrait painter, Chester Harding. See Bryan's English Dictionary of eminent artists and American Cyclicopias.)
8. Capt. Robert Harding who came with Gov. Winthrop in 1630; made freeman in 1634; selectman of Boston; married Hester, daughter of Gov. George Wyllis of Connecticut; removed to Rhode Island and eventually returned to England, leaving no descendants in New England.
9. Philip Harding, alias "Hardy", residence Boston and Marblehead, Mass.; married Susanna ——; died in 1679, leaving a daughter, Jane, who married —— Rein.
10. William Harding of New Haven, Conn., 1642. Whipped out of the colony in 1643, and nothing further known of him.
11. Thomas Harding, received as an inhabitant of Boston in 1656. Perhaps the same Thomas who embarked from London in September, 1635, for St. Christopher's. He had no child recorded.
12. George Harding was of Marblehead, Mass., in 1649, and nothing further known of him.

To this list should be added the name of John Harding, for, in the record of Stephen Harding, "the blacksmith of Providence", of the second generation, it says, "Stephen is probably the son of John, brother of Richard" (first on the list). The birth of this Stephen is given as occurring at

Weymouth, Mass., in 1624, therefore, his father must have come with his brothers, Richard, Joseph and Abraham who arrived with Capt. Robert Gorges in August, 1623. This book says further, speaking of Capt. Robert Gorges, "Sir Robert² Gorges, his near kinsman, if not himself, had married Mary Harding, daughter and heir of William Harding; and whichever was her husband we may reasonably suppose that some of Lady Gorges relatives would have accompanied him. If she was his (Capt. Gorges) wife, and attended him, the Hardings were probably her brothers." This is a very questionable genealogical conclusion.

This book gives a very full account of Richard Harding who settled at Braintree, Mass., soon after his arrival in New England. His name is variously spelled in the old records, as are the names of most of the first settlers in this country. In Boston it was written "Richard Harden of Bantry". He was made a freeman, which implies church membership, May 10, 1648, and died after December 18, 1657 (O. S.), when his will was made. Married twice, names of wives not given, but is said to have left a son John, a daughter Lydia, "and perhaps others". The descendants of his brother Joseph are given in this book down to the middle of the 19th century; and the record of his brother Abraham (mentioned briefly under Elizabeth Harding, No. 7 of the list of immigrants) covers thirty-three pages of the large volume.

This genealogy of the Hardings is the only one of any account appearing for many years. In 1909 were published two volumes of the History of Wilkes-Barré and the Wyoming Valley, by Oscar J. Harvey, which contain a brief record of the family of Captain Stephen Harding, one of the first settlers in Exeter, Pa., and the father of the two Harding boys, Benjamin and Stukeley, who were murdered by the Indians three days before the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming. (Vol. II: 992.). In 1910 Mrs. Amy Hard-

² A careless substitution of names. It should be Sir Ferdinand Gorges.

ing DeWitt published a book entitled "The Hardings, from their landing at Boston and settlement at Weymouth Landing or Braintree, in 1623". Her account of the first migration of Hardings to New England is as follows: "That they came with and under the patronage of Sir Fernando Gorges and his brother Capt. Robert Gorges, . . . one of whom had married Mary Harding, daughter of William of Somersetshire, England, is a legitimate implication from the records of Weymouth and Braintree. Tradition as well as historical data make Richard and Joseph Harding the brothers of Lady Gorges and there can hardly be a doubt but they, the brothers . . . were the ancestors of the Hardings of the United States." Mrs. DeWitt does not tell us that she personally searched the ancient records of which she speaks. It would be of interest to know. In a publication of hers two years after the one quoted, entitled "The Hardings and sketch of the Wyoming Valley", she says: "William Harding of Somersetshire, Eng., had four sons, Richard, Joseph, Abraham and Stephen, and daughter Mary who married Mr. Gorges, and doubtless these brothers were the ancestors of the Hardings in the United States". No references to authorities are given for this statement. These two books do not give the line of President Harding but carry out very fully the record of Capt. Stephen Harding, brother of Abraham, the President's ancestor.

In 1920 began the flood of newspaper and other articles about the ancestors of Warren Gamaliel Harding. First of all came the pedigree issued by the National Republican Committee. This was based upon a long distance telephone conversation between an enterprising reporter of a St. Louis paper and Wilbur J. Harding of Keystone, Iowa. Mr. Harding³ is authority for the above statement and says that he was given no opportunity to correct the proof before it went to press. This pedigree was widely, and apparently

* Letter from Wilbur J. Harding to Mrs. Miller, dated June 2, 1924.

carelessly, copied by newspapers all over the country, some giving one name and some another to the immigrant ancestor.

June 26, 1920, the New York Tribune published a short sketch of the Hardings. This did not go back of Stephen of the second generation in America, and was fairly correct in its record of later generations, making only a few mistakes in dates. About the same time the New York Sun published a long article which compares favorably with later research into the past history of the family. It, also, begins the record with Stephen "of Providence", second generation, carrying the line correctly down to the President, but gives much less space to his forbears than to the family of Capt. Stephen Harding of Wyoming Valley and his immediate family.

October 11, 1924, the Public Ledger of Philadelphia, Pa., in its column devoted to "Pennsylvanians, Past and Present" written by Frederic A. Godcharles, published a sketch of Capt. Stephen Harding and the Wyoming Massacre of 1778. It closes with this: "It is from this patriotic family that the late President Warren G. Harding claimed his descent, and well may he have been proud of his ancestors". It is not probable that Mr. Godcharles meant to convey the idea that President Harding was an actual lineal descendant of Capt. Stephen Harding of Wyoming fame, but the sentence quoted is an unfortunate ending to an otherwise admirable sketch.

The limits of this paper do not permit the mention of all that was written and printed about President Warren G. Harding between the years 1920 and 1925, but the above excerpts give a fairly good idea of what they contained. They all stressed the heroism and sufferings of the Hardings during the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming, giving prominence to the family of Captain Stephen Harding, and only casually, if at all, mentioning the direct ancestors of the President.

One month after his inauguration, President Harding wrote a letter to the New England Historic Genealogical Society expressing his appreciation of the honor conferred upon him in his election to the honorary membership of that society. With this letter he sent an outline of his paternal ancestral line in America. If it is the pedigree published in the Society's magazine for April, 1921 (Vol. 77, p. 243, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*), it is far from satisfactory. Among other incorrect statements it says: "Major Abraham Harding, Jr., born 1740, died 1820, removed with his parents to the Wyoming Valley. On attaining his majority he removed to Port Jervis, Orange Co., N. Y., where he married Huldah Tryon and entered the service of his country in Col. William Allison's Regiment. After the Revolution he returned to the Wyoming Valley and became successively a captain and major in the Pennsylvania militia." It is unbelievable that President Harding signed his name to any such hodge-podge, and we conclude that some one made a grave mistake in copying the record sent to the society. We are upheld in this conclusion by the careful compiling of his pedigree by himself as shown below. This is taken from the Genealogical Department of the Boston Transcript of date October 6, 1924. This article is signed C. A. H. and was written in answer to a query in a previous issue of the paper. We give an excerpt: "The second answer is that of the statement issued by President Harding himself, over his own attested signature, and delivered to a patriotic society as a qualification for his membership therein. This formal statement of pedigree . . . places two generations, if not three, of the Hardings in Devonshire, England, before the family came to America; and it shows that back of them nothing is known of President Harding's ancestry. Upon what precise record authority Warren Gamaliel Harding reached the conclusion he gave in his said signed pedigree has not been published." The pedigree referred to is as follows:

1. John Harding, of Devonshire, England.
2. Richard Harding, born at Dunboro (Denbury) Devonshire.
3. Stephen Harding, born in England; died at Providence, R. I., Feb. 20, 1698.
4. Abraham Harding, died at Providence, R. I., Nov. 23, 1694; married Deborah ——
5. Stephen Harding, born at Providence, R. I., in 1681.
6. Abraham Harding, born at Warwick, R. I., June 14, 1720; died in Susquehanna County, Pa., in 1806; married at Waterford, Conn., Anna Dolson.
7. Abraham Harding, born at Waterford, Conn., in 1740; married at or near Waterford, in 1762, Hulda Tryon.
8. Amos Harding, born at Port Jervis, N. Y., March 19, 1764; died in Richland Co., Ohio, in 1839; married in Luzerne Co., Pa., in 1784, Phebe Tripp, born in 1769 and died at LaPorte, Ind., in 1847.
9. George Tryon Harding, born in Luzerne Co., Pa., June 15, 1790; died at Corsica,* Ohio, Jan. 9, 1860; married in Susquehanna Co., Pa., May 1, 1816, Elizabeth Madison, born in 1800, died at Corsica, Ohio, Feb. 8, 1866.
10. Charles Alexander Harding, born in Susquehanna Co., Pa., April 8, 1820; died at Corsica, Ohio, April 17, 1878; married in Morrow Co., Ohio, March 28, 1840, Mary Ann Crawford, born in Beaver Co., Pa., August 26, 1823, died at Corsica, Ohio, in March, 1895.
11. George Tryon Harding, born at Corsica, June 12, 1847; married at Gallion, Ohio, May 7, 1864, Phebe Elizabeth Dickerson, born at Corsica, Ohio, Dec. 21, 1843, died at Marion, Ohio, May 29, 1910.
12. Warren Gamaliel Harding, born Nov. 1, 1865.

In 1922 the Sulgrave Institution of America erected on a wall in the village of Sulgrave, Northamptonshire, England, a tablet in memory of the ancestors of President Warren G. Harding which bears the statement that those ancestors (not named) once resided near that spot, or place. What proof, if any, has been published by this society for its belief that the New England Hardings came from Sulgrave, is not at present available for reference. Devonshire, designated by

*Now Blooming Grove, Morrow Co.

the President as the English home of his ancestors, adjoins the county of Somerset, the seat of the Gorges family, which is a fact favorable to the belief that the Gorges and Harding families intermarried and emigrated together to New England. Northamptonshire is one hundred and fifty miles to the north-east of these two counties, a tremendous distance three hundred years ago compared to the present. However, that is no proof that there was not occasional communication, or relationship between families of the two localities.

In 1925 Wilbur J. Harding published "The Hardings in America". If, as is not at all unlikely, he was the authority⁴ behind the Devonshire record signed by the President in 1921, later research surely compelled his change of belief before the publication of this book. In this latest of Harding genealogies (page 21) we find that the will of John Harding, the head of the family "so far as can be traced by public records" so it reads, has been found recorded in Northamptonshire, England. This legal document was filed March 3, 1637, and contains a notation that the testator died January 14, 1637. It names Richard, Joseph and John Harding as his sons and gives certain real and personal property to his brother William Harding. The filing of this will proves that John Harding died a resident of Northamptonshire, and is good foundation for the belief that he had lived there some time previous to his death. That he removed there from Devonshire, where his children may have been born, is not an impossibility. That he had a brother William is also a fact proven by the will, and that this William had a daughter Mary is a tradition that has persisted for so long a time that, lacking documentary proof to the contrary, we have a right to believe it. This relationship between William and his daughter Mary and John and his three sons named above, is further substantiated by another statement made in the gene-

⁴ In a letter to Mrs. Miller, dated May 10, 1924, Abigail Harding, (now Mrs. Ralph T. Lewis) sister of the President, referred her to Wilbur J. Harding as the recognized genealogist of the family.

alogy quoted. On page 17, we read: "In seeking to uncover the identity of those early pioneers who may be classed as the 'First Hardings on American soil', the historian must go back to the work, 'A Briefe Narration of the Original Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the Parts of Amerika, especially Showing the Beginnings, Progress and Continuance of that of New England', written by Sir Ferdinando Gorges in 1658." According to this, "which must be considered authentic history of these undertakings", Mary Harding, wife of Capt. Robert Gorges, is described as "the daughter and *heir* of William Harding, Gent."; and in the list of passengers who came to New England with the Gorges party "we find the names of Joseph Harding, John Harding, wife and young sons and Richard Harding, wife and infant son." Using this ancient document as authority, Wilbur J. Harding argues, correctly, that if Mary Harding was the *heir* (not co-heir) of her father, then she was an only child; therefore, these Hardings, who emigrated with her, could not have been her brothers, but were probably her cousins.

"The Hardings in America" traces the descent of Warren Gamaliel Harding from John Harding of Northamptonshire, England, through his son Richard, immigrant to New England, and his son, Stephen "of Providence" as he is commonly called, exactly as in the pedigree written by the President and already given in this paper. Sufficient references to authentic records are given to convince us that the record is undoubtedly correct in all the essentials, and it is used as the basis for the record which follows:

1. Richard Harding,⁵ born in England about 1583; died at Braintree, Mass., after Dec. 18, 1657 (O. S.) when his will was made. He settled at Braintree soon after his arrival in this country in 1623 and was a "mariner engaged in fishing". He was twice married, first in England (name of wife unknown), second to Elizabeth Adams in Braintree, who survived him. He left two

⁵ cf with record from "Descendants of several ancient Puritans," given on page 4.

- sons, children of his first wife, and a daughter, Lydia, only child of the second. The elder son, John, was the infant bought from England. The younger was,
2. Stephen Harding, born at Braintree, Mass., about 1624. He was a blacksmith by trade, and about 1647 migrated to the south-west of Braintree settling in that part of old Rehoboth which was many years later made the town of Swansey. This locality was under the jurisdiction of Plymouth Colony which was more liberal than the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and therefore many of the despised sect of Baptists had gathered in that region. The recently organized Baptist Church at Providence, R. I., was near enough to these settlers to afford them the enjoyment of its church privileges. It is a mistake of Harding genealogists hard to understand, that they persist in recording that Stephen Harding joined "the Swansey Baptist Church." There was no such church or town at the time he lived there. There were many Baptists around him and they probably held meetings in their homes, but they must have gone to Providence across the river for communion and undoubtedly were members of the Providence Church, the first of the Baptist faith in America.⁶ It is not impossible that Stephen Harding became a convert to the Baptist faith before leaving Braintree and sought a home in the Baptist community of lower Rehoboth in consequence. His father was a "freeman" which denotes church membership in the Puritan church, and if Stephen forsook the faith of that church while still a resident of Braintree his life there was surely an uncomfortable one. While living in Rehoboth Stephen married Bridget Estance, daughter of Thomas, a Welshman who had early settled in Rehoboth but later removed to Providence, where Stephen Harding is also found in the public records of 1664. There he died, Feb. 20, 1698, having had four daughters and three sons. The youngest son was,

⁶ The Providence Baptist Church was organized in 1639; the Swansey Church in 1663, and the third church in that vicinity, the Pawtucket, in 1693. (See "History of the Baptists" and "Fifty years among the Baptists" by David Benedict; "New England's struggle for religious liberty", by Rev. David B. Ford; "A short history of the Baptists" by Henry C. Vedder, D. D.)

3. Abraham Harding, born in 1656; died Nov. 23, 1694; married Deborah whose last name is unknown. She survived him, marrying Moses Bartlett a year after Abraham's death. Abraham Harding lived in Providence, R. I., and left at his death three daughters and four sons. The fourth child and third son was,
4. Stephen Harding (Captain), born at Providence, R. I., in 1681; died in Connecticut, May 31, 1750. About 1715 he removed to Warwick, R. I., and became a prosperous mariner, building and sailing his own ships, hence the title "Captain". Later he bought 400 acres of land in the Mohegan tract of New London County, Connecticut, near Uncasville and just south of the present boundary line between Montville and Waterford. He removed there with his brother Israel in 1732. The name of his wife is not recorded. His children were:
 1. John Harding, who removed to Redstone, Pa., and later to Kentucky, where he dropped the "g" from his name and his descendants write it Hardin. Many of this branch of Hardings have been prominent as soldiers and statesmen in the middle west, and in their honor have been named a county in Kentucky, one in Iowa, one in Illinois, one in Tennessee and one in Ohio.
 2. Abraham Harding (more later).
 3. Captain Stephen Harding, of Wyoming Valley; married Amy Gardner, daughter of Stephen and Frances (Congdon) Gardner and sister of Stephen Gardner, Jr., another settler in the Wyoming Valley. Recent search of ancient records in England and Rhode Island, has established the fact that Frances Congdon, mother of Amy Gardner, was a lineal descendant in the 14th generation from Edward III, King of England, and a great-grand-daughter of that mother of eight Governors of Rhode Island, Frances Latham and her first husband, William Dungan. The heroism of Captain Stephen Harding, commander of Jenkins Fort in Exeter, at the time of the Wyoming Massacre, has been so fully and admirably told by all the historians and other writers of the Wyoming Valley that it is not necessary to recount it here.
 4. Thomas Harding, born May 16, 1727; died Feb. 20, 1804; married Mary Richards and resided at Water-

ford, Conn. "The Hardings in America" records seven children; the "Descendants of several ancient Puritans" names nine, four of whom are sons, and all the children, with one exception, are said to have lived in Connecticut. One son, James, lived in Waterford, Conn., until 1807 when, this genealogy says, he removed to Exeter, Luzerne Co., Pa., where he died. He had, Nancy, Lucy, Hannah, Daniel a prominent citizen of Exeter, James, Eliza, Charles.

5. Israel Harding, born in 1733; died in 1783; married in 1759, Sarah Harris. He is called Colonel in "Hardings in America" and Captain in the older genealogy mentioned above, which gives the following account of him: "He served as captain in the last French and Indian War and remained in Connecticut until the beginning of the Revolution, when he sided with the British. His brother Thomas used his influence to secure from the Governor of Connecticut Colony a permit for Israel to go to Long Island from whence he escaped to Nova Scotia where he died. He had: Israel, a merchant of Halifax; Harris, a Baptist preacher; a daughter who married —— Peck and removed to Ohio." The "Hardings in America" does not mention these children but records a daughter Sabra who married Charles DeWolf, residence not named, and left descendants.

Abraham Harding (No. 2) of the fifth generation in America, son of Capt. Stephen Harding of Warwick, R. I., and Waterford, Conn., was born at Warwick, June 14, 1720, and married in Connecticut, about 1741, Anna Dolson⁷, who died in Orange County, New York, in 1802. The name, Abraham Harding, is found among the signers of the Indian Deed of 1754 granting Wyoming lands to the Susquehanna Company, but as there was another Abraham Harding living

⁷ Not to be confused with the Dutch family of Dolsen—Dolsan—Dolson which settled in Orange County at an early date, coming from Fishkill on the Hudson.

in Connecticut at that time⁸ it is impossible to determine, surely, which one it was. As the brother of the Abraham of this sketch, and many of his relatives, were signers of that Deed, and his son, Abraham, Jr., settled in the Wyoming Valley, it seems probable that the signer was this Abraham. He continued to reside in Connecticut for twenty years after his marriage and all his children were born there.

In 1761, Abraham and Anna Harding with their six sons moved to Orange County, New York. It has been asserted that they settled near Port Jervis in that part of the Minisink which later became Deerpark Township⁹. If this is true, which is very doubtful, he remained there only a short time, since for years before the Revolution he was living eight or nine miles to the northeast of the present town of Port Jervis in what is now Greenville township, in the locality later named Grahamville. It is certain that he lived in this place continuously from the time of his first settlement there until he left Orange County for Pennsylvania. Grahamville was not a village but by 1800 had become a thickly settled farming community. In 1775 Abraham Harding was assessed

⁸ Joshua Hempstead recorded in his Diary for Sept. 12, 1734, that he married "Abra'h Harden and Mercy Vibber" on that date. We find in various books a mention of an Abraham Harding of that generation in Connecticut that could not have been the Abraham of this sketch.

⁹ In 1798 Rockland County was organized from the southeastern part of Orange, and to offset that loss of territory five townships were taken from Ulster County and annexed to Orange on the north. One of these five townships was Mamakating. Immediately upon annexation, the township of Deerpark was organized from a small portion of Minisink but largely from Mamakating; hence many so called early settlers of Orange County and especially of Deerpark, were really residents of Ulster County until 1798. Port Jervis was begun in 1826 when the Delaware & Hudson canal was being built. It was named for Mr. Jervis, superintendent in charge of constructing the canal.

fourteen shillings for taxes¹⁰. After the division of New York State into fourteen counties in 1788, Orange County townships were changed in area in some instances, and the town of Minisink, which had been of indefinite boundaries, was organized legally and the first town meeting held in April, 1789. At this meeting Abraham Harding was elected a Highway Master for District 22¹¹. In 1790 and '91, he was elected a fence viewer. In the records of these two last meetings he is called "Captain Harding". During the Revolution he served as Second Lieutenant in Colonel Allison's regiment of New York Militia, being commissioned by the Provincial Congress December 1, 1775¹². His name appears on a certificate issued March 4, 1836, by the Deputy Secretary of State for New York, which states that at the time of the Revolution he was living on the west side of the Wallkill river, which still more definitely names his place of residence many miles east of Deerpark. After the War he remained active in the State Militia, being appointed "Captain No. 5" in 1786 and Second Major in 1794. At the Meeting of the Council of Appointments in 1803, another was appointed in place of "Abraham Harding, who has moved away".¹³ This record of military services shows conclusively that Abraham Harding held no higher position in the Continental Army

¹⁰ Ruttenber & Clark's History of Orange County, page 677, records this assessment under the town of Wawayanda. Minisink included for many years, the present towns of Wawayanda and Greenville. In 1849 Wawayanda was set off from Minisink on the north and in 1853 Greenville was taken from both Minisink and Wawayanda. Abraham Harding lived in the part of Minisink which was later Wawayanda and still later Greenville. This accounts for the many, seemingly contradictory statements of his place of residence.

¹¹ District 22 was later No. 19 of Greenville.

¹² Record furnished by the Adjutant General, War Department, Washington, D. C.

¹³ Council of Appointments, issued by the State of New York, pages 80 and 283.

than Second Lieutenant,¹⁴ although he was called "Major" for several years before his death. His wife died early in 1802 and that same year he left Orange County for Pennsylvania where he became an inmate of the home of his grandson, Amos Harding, in Clifford, Susquehanna County, until his death which occurred in 1806. He was buried on the side of the hill about thirty rods east of the present Baptist Church of Clifford, on the farm of Amos Harding, and there he lies today, his grave obliterated and nothing left to show its exact spot. It will always remain a mystery, which even tradition does not illuminate, why Major Abraham Harding chose to end his days in the rude pioneer home of Amos Harding. His son John was living in Orange County a few miles north of him and many grandchildren were settled around him whom it seems might have given him a home in his old age with many comforts not to be had in Clifford at that time. That he did end his days in Clifford and that his ashes repose there, should be a matter of pride to the little village and a suitable tablet or marker ought to be erected to his memory establishing the spot where he is buried.

The children of Abraham and Anna (Dolson) Harding:

1. Abraham Harding, Jr. (More later).
2. Amos Harding, born in 1746; died in 1808. The "Descendants of several ancient Puritans" says that he was a Baptist preacher.
3. John Harding, born in 1749; died in 1813; married (1), Rhoda King (born 1752; died 1788); married (2), Lydia Tripp.¹⁵ John Harding had eight sons and

¹⁴ The name of Abraham Harding appears as "Major" upon the tablet placed by Montrose Chapter, D. A. R. in the lower corridor of the Court House at Montrose, Pa., in 1924 in memory of the Revolutionary soldiers who lived and died in Susquehanna County. As there were no inhabitants in that county during the war, all these men came there from many different States after peace was declared.

¹⁵ "The Michael Shoemaker Book", page 512, says that a Mrs. Lydia (Tripp) Harding of Deerpark, Orange Co., N. Y., who was born

three daughters, all by his first wife. They all married and had children. (See "Hardings in America", page 37). After his first marriage, John Harding settled in the township of Mamakating, Ulster County, N. Y. and is listed as a signer for that township of the Pledge of 1775.¹⁶ In the Census of 1790 his name is found in Mamakating as having a wife and three daughters, two sons over sixteen and five under. After the annexation of Mamakating township to Orange County and the erection of Deerpark in 1798, he is found in Deerpark, just over the line from Mount Hope township and near Otisville in Mount Hope. (See footnote 9).

4. Lemuel Harding, born in 1751; died before Nov. 12, 1796, when his daughter, Phebe, wife of James Ellsworth, sold all her interest "in common with the other heirs" in the lands of her father Lemuel Harding.¹⁷ The name of his wife, date and place of marriage, and names of children other than Phebe, mentioned above, are not known. Lemuel Harding arrived in the Wyoming Valley May 5th, 1772,¹⁸ and appears to have settled first in the Pittston District. In October, 1772, he signed the petition for a county in Wyoming sent to the General Assembly of Connecticut; and at a meeting of the Susquehanna Company held at Hartford, Conn., June 2, 1773, he was appointed with Caleb Bates and James Brown, a Director for the town of Pittston.¹⁹ At the first Town meeting, held at Wilkes-Barré, March 2, 1774, he was elected a Grand Juror. Sept. 23, 1775, he sold to Francis Hopkins a Pittston Fort Lot, No. 34, about one acre in size, receiving for

Sept. 6, 1762, and died Dec. 4, 1840, daughter of Job Tripp (See page 560, Shoemaker Book), was married, Nov. 17, 1816, to Deacon John Phillips of Pittston and Abington, Pa., and adds: "She was evidently first married to a Harding who had lived in the Wyoming Valley and removed to the Minisink". This Lydia (Tripp) Harding was undoubtedly the widow of John Harding of Deerpark and went to the Wyoming Valley to live near her Tripp relatives; there marrying Deacon Phillips.

¹⁶ The Pledge to support and defend the acts of the Provincial Congress.

¹⁷ Michael Shoemaker Book, page 512.

¹⁸ Harvey's History of Wilkes-Barré, Vol. II: 732.

¹⁹ Miner's History of Wyoming, page 150.

it £8. This was probably where he had his home as he is henceforth found in Exeter to which he seems to have removed. He is found in the Tax list for Exeter in the year 1776, the valuation of his property being £52., and he paid a tax of £1. 10s. 4d. Nothing further has been found concerning him in the records. It is probable that he and his family sought refuge in Jenkins Fort in June, 1778, but his name does not appear in any list of the inmates that has been found. The Michael Shoemaker Book is incorrect in attributing military service to Lemuel Harding in the Connecticut Militia during the French and Indian War of 1755 to 1758. He was a small child during those years.

5. Oliver Harding, born in 1753; date of death unknown. He came to the Wyoming Valley in September, 1772,²⁰ and the following month was a signer of the petition for the erection of a county in Wyoming. His name is not found in the Tax lists for Westmoreland, and it is not known where he settled in the Valley. It is not improbable that he made his home with one of his brothers in Pittston, and that he did not own property or make a home for himself in Wyoming as he is not further mentioned in the records except as a soldier. He was a member of the First Westmoreland Independent Company,²¹ Robert Durkee, Captain. In "Connecticut in the Revolution", page 263, his name is found in the list of privates in Capt. Durkee's Wyoming Company, no date given. He is there described as five feet, nine inches tall, and twenty years old. This book also gives his name among the privates of Captain Spalding's Independent Company "as united June 28, 1778". An Oliver Harding is found in the 1790 Census living in Chemung Township, Montgomery County, N. Y., credited with four sons under sixteen years of age. This man was evidently of proper age to be the Oliver Harding of this sketch and may have been he. Some of his Harding kinsmen were living in Montgomery County in 1790.
6. Rice Harding, born in 1755; died in 1800. Nothing further known of him.

²⁰ Harvey's History of Wilkes-Barré, Vol. II:750.

²¹ Harvey's History of Wilkes-Barré, Vol. II:892-894.

We have now covered a period of one hundred and seventy-five years after the coming of Richard Harding to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1623, and have found the Hardings ever moving westward until in the span of four lives after that of Richard, they have made for themselves homes in three other colonies. In all these years after the settlement of the immigrant Richard at Braintree, they followed the vanguard of pioneers to Rhode Island, Connecticut and New York, finding upon their arrival in those colonies the struggle of pioneer settlement giving way to safer and more comfortable living. This was especially true in Connecticut and New York where settlements had been made nearly one hundred years before the Hardings reached those colonies. But now comes a change and we follow the fortunes of the next members of the family to engage our attention, into the wilderness of what was then the far western frontier and into the hardships and dangers of primitive pioneer life.

Abraham Harding, Jr., oldest son of Abraham and Anna (Dolson) Harding, was born in Waterford, Conn., April 14, 1744. He accompanied his parents to Orange Co., N. Y., in 1761, and in the following year returned to Connecticut where, July 9, 1762, he married Huldah Tryon, born May 8, 1743, a daughter of Joseph and Bridget (Curtis) Tryon of New London. She was a descendant in the fifth generation from Abel Tryon, the line after him being Joseph, James, Joseph, Huldah.²² Abraham and Huldah Harding settled on a farm in Orange County, N. Y., near his father, and there they remained for ten years.²³

In June, 1772, Abraham Harding, Jr., in company with

²² "The Hardings in America", page 36.

²³ No record of Abraham Harding, Jr., during those ten years is to be found in Orange County. This is probably due to the fact that from 1683 when the county was formed, until its legal organization in 1788, it was attached to New York City and all records were kept there: also the destruction by fire seventy-five years ago of many Orange County records kept at Goshen has probably made it impossible to find a legal record of the old inhabitants of some sections.

others from his neighborhood, followed his brother Lemuel, who had gone the month before, to the Wyoming Valley in north-eastern Pennsylvania.²⁴ He arrived there on June 20th, evidently to look the ground over and prepare a home for his family, as on the 26th of the same month he left the Valley, remaining away six weeks.²⁵ It is supposed that he went back to Orange County, N. Y., to bring his family to their new home. He settled on the east side of the Susquehanna river in, or near, what is now the city of Pittston.²⁶ He immediately took a prominent position in civic affairs and his name appears as a member of important committees in Wyoming during the years preceding the Massacre. He was a signer of the petition for the erection of a county in Wyoming sent to the General Assembly of Connecticut Colony in October, 1772.²⁷ At the first Town meeting, held March 2, 1774, he was elected a fence viewer,²⁸ and November 22 of the same year, at a Town meeting, he and eight other men were appointed a committee "to make inquiry into, and search after any person or persons that are suspected to have taken land under the title of Pennsylvania, . . . and that they have full power to expel any person or persons from this purchase and town, whom they or ye major part of them judge unwholesome inhabitants, on account of their taking land under ye title of Pennsylvania," etc.²⁹ In August, 1774,

²⁴ The name of Abraham Harding appears in the list of settlers in Pittston, April 30, 1772 (Vol. II:84, Wyoming Historical and Geological Society Proceedings), when he appears to have drawn a lot for Isaiah Halstead. He could not have stayed in Wyoming long at this time.

²⁵ Harvey's History of Wilkes-Barré, Vol. II:736.

²⁶ W. J. Harding is incorrect in saying (page 81, "Hardings in America") that Abraham Harding settled "up the river" on the west side in Exeter, in what he calls the "Harding region". He is found in the Westmoreland records nowhere except in Pittston District.

²⁷ Harvey's History of Wilkes-Barré, Vol. II:752.

²⁸ Miner's History of Wyoming, page 156.

²⁹ Miner's History of Wyoming, pages 156-161. On the latter page it says: "These nine gentlemen named on the committee, embraced, as rightly it should in matters so delicate and important, one of the leading men from each township or district."

Abraham Harding was one of a committee of three to appraise a dwelling house and lot in Pittston District in "ye North East corner of ye Fort", taken in execution of Lovinia Hawkins vs. Daniel Adams. "The above named men were all under oath and delivered to ye plaintiff in peaceable possession"³⁰. In 1777 he was a Director for Pittston District with Daniel Ross and Isaiah Halstead, and these three men distributed to Isaac Finch a mill seat on the Lackawanna river near the mouth of Spring Brook. It was a corner lot, No. 54. The date of this transaction was March 31, 1777.³¹ In the Westmoreland Tax list for 1776, the valuation of his taxable property is given as £55., and he paid a tax of £1. 12s. 1d. In August, 1777, his valuation is £28. and he paid £1. 8s. In November, 1778, the valuation was £28. and the tax paid was £1. 8s., both valuation and tax the same as the year before.³² He still resided in Pittston District when in June, 1778, the alarm occasioned by the impending invasion by the British and Indians drove the settlers of Wyoming to the Forts for protection. It is uncertain, lacking definite records, to what fort Abraham Harding took his family. "The Hardings in America" (page 90), records an interview given by Amos Harding, son of Abraham, in his old age, in the presence of his grandson ten years of age. This grandson in his old age repeated what he remembered of this interview. It is easy to believe that in the lapse of years the remembrance of that interview became hazy in the mind of the grandson. He certainly got some dates wrong which we cannot believe was the mistake of the grand-father. However, if he was correct in reporting that his grand-father said the family of Abraham Harding was in Jenkins Fort at the time of the Battle of July 3rd, 1778, it must be accepted

³⁰ Proceedings of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Vol. II: 80.

³¹ Deed Book, No. 1, page 309, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

³² Proceedings of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Vol. V: 237-239.

as the truth. Amos Harding was fourteen years of age in 1778 and ought to have known where his family was at that time. On the other hand; we do not find Abraham Harding listed as an inmate of that Fort, and we know that he was not with the Hardings and others who went up the river to work on June 30th when Benjamin and Stukeley were killed. His name is not among the survivors of the Battle; nor is it found among those named as inmates of the Pittston Fort.³³ In Sheldon Reynolds' "Frontier Forts" he says: "All the families living in Pittston and its neighborhood were assembled within this (Pittston Fort) enclosure during the Battle of Wyoming." And he says further, in speaking of the small detachment of the 24th Regiment stationed at the Fort as well as the men of Pittston who were there: "The responsibility of protecting the women and children under their charge outweighed every other consideration". It seems improbable that Abraham Harding would take his family across the river to Jenkins Fort directly towards and almost in the path of the oncoming enemy, and to a fort much more exposed to danger than the one near by at Pittston. Also, the men of Wyoming were working in their fields until the very presence of the foe prevented. Why would he put the river between himself and his farm at this critical time and deprive his wife and children of his protection while cultivating his crops? Weighing all the evidence at hand, it seems reasonable to think that Abraham Harding and his family were in Pittston Fort July 3rd, 1778, rather than prisoners with the inmates of Jenkins Fort on that day. They fled with the other refugees over the Pocono and through the "Shades of Death", their eleven year old son, Joseph, dying on the way, the hardships of the terrible journey proving too much for his strength. They undoubtedly found a refuge with their many relatives in the old home in Orange County,

³³ Wyoming Historical and Geological Society's Proceedings, Vol. II: 79. List of inmates of Pittston Fort.

N. Y., although no account of the four months following the flight from Wyoming has come down to us.³⁴

In the latter part of October, 1778, Abraham Harding and family returned to Wyoming, taking up again the task of making a home. With the help of his only remaining son, Amos, he cleared away much of the forest on his land and in the course of time had a very comfortable home. Apparently, he had financial troubles for a while after his return, as did many of his neighbors, and we find him in debt to the estate of Captain Obadiah Gore, for a "note in hand" to the amount of £3. 10s., September 1, 1780. When the agitation for the erection of Luzerne County arose, he and his son Amos both signed the petition to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania.³⁵ November 19, 1787, he sold to Alexander MacKay one-half of Meadow Lot, No. 7, in Pittston Township. This was acknowledged November 27, 1787, and recorded at Wilkes-Barré, May 31, 1788, in Deed Book, No. 1, page 49. Another record is: Abraham Harding of Pittstown, Luzerne County to Enos Brown. Acknowledged April 27, 1789, before Benjamin Carpenter, Judge of Luzerne County. Lot No. 32 of first division of Farm Lots, Pittstown Township. Sum paid £36. Recorded at Wilkes-Barré in Deed Book, No. 1, page 154.³⁶

³⁴ "The Hardings in America" (page 84), intimates that the Hardings remained at Stroudsburg until their return to Wyoming in the fall; but any one familiar with the history of the refugees and conditions at Stroudsburg, will doubt that they were there very long. Orange County was a comparatively easy journey from Stroudsburg, and there is every reason to believe that they accompanied the many other refugees who went on to that region.

³⁵ A copy of this petition is now in the Library of the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, Pa., from which this record is taken.

³⁶ From a study of other deeds and records found in Wilkes-Barré, we find that there was another man by the name of Abraham Harding owning property in Pittston during the years 1790 to 1794, and probably living there for a portion of those years. We find: Deed No. 1.—"Abraham Harding of Pittstown to Henry Harding, *son of said Abraham*. Date Nov. 22, 1790. Acknowledged by one of the witnesses

Abraham Harding, Jr., died October 22, 1815, and his wife in 1812, according to the family record in the Bible of Amos Harding, their son. The place, or places, of their deaths are not given in this family record. Some of their kinsmen believe that they died in Orange County, N. Y., but offer no proof of same. As we have shown, the name Abraham Harding was borne by several men in that county, and it is difficult to distinguish between them. None claim that they returned to Orange County before 1800. The late Major A. J. Harding of Chicago, who spent many years and much money in the preparation of a genealogy of the Hardings which was never published, asserted that he had positive proof that they died in Luzerne County, Pa.; but whatever that proof was is

and recorded May 7, 1791. One half of two Meadow Lots, Township of Pittstown—numbers 6 and 8 and one half of 50 acres being lot on which I now live—bounded southerly on land of James Benedict and northerly on land of Mr. Sandford together with all right in other divided land." Plainly, on the face of it, this was not the Abraham Harding of this sketch, for HE HAD NO SON HENRY. Again we find: Deed No. 2—"Abraham Harding and Henry Harding of Pittstown, to William Miller. Date May 22, 1793. Lot of 100 acres, regularly laid out to Stephen Harding." From other records we find that a Stephen Harding died in Pittston prior to Sept. 11, 1793, when Henry Harding was appointed administrator of his estate. Both Henry and his father, Abraham Harding, appear to have been heirs of Stephen Harding, and to have been closely related to him. Again we find: Deed No. 3—"Abraham Harding, now living in Township of Minisink in County of Orange, New York, to Orman Ensign, land in Pittstown. Date June 18, 1794." (The Michael Shoemaker Book, page 511, quotes these deeds as executed by Abraham Harding of this sketch.) The Abraham Harding of this sketch signed the petition mentioned on page 28, in April, 1794. Why was he so interested in that petition if he was to remove to Minisink in two months, June 18, 1794, the date of deed No. 3? An Abraham Harding is found in the 1790 census for Minisink Township, Orange County, N. Y., who was not Major Abraham Harding (page 16) of the same township. He might have been the Abraham of these deeds as there was time between the taking of the census and November 22, 1790, the date of the first deed, for him to remove to Pittston. He evidently returned to Minisink before June 18, 1794, the date of the third deed.

now lost by the scattering of his manuscript among his descendants. A recent search of the probate records of Orange and Luzerne Counties throws no light upon this problem which seems to be unsolvable.

The children of Abraham and Huldah (Tryon) Harding were:

1. Amos Harding, born March 19, 1764; died July 10, 1839.
2. Joseph Harding, born in 1766 in Orange County, N. Y.; died in July, 1778, on the Pocono mountain, Pa., in the retreat from Wyoming after the massacre.
3. John Harding, born in Orange County, N. Y., in 1768; died in the Wyoming Valley in 1776.
4. Daughter, born in Orange County, N. Y.; died there in childhood.
5. Daughter. She married John Saxon in 1801 and went to Ontario County, N. Y., in 1804.

Amos Harding,³⁷ oldest child of Abraham and Huldah (Tryon) Harding, was born March 19, 1764, in Orange County, N. Y., and died July 10, 1839, in Blooming Grove, Morrow County, Ohio. He accompanied his parents to the Wyoming Valley in 1772 and passed through the horrors of the British and Indian invasion in the summer of 1778 and the terrible journey across the mountains to safety after the massacre. After the return of the family to the valley in the fall of 1778, he assisted his father in clearing and otherwise improving his farm in Pittstown. August 21, 1784, he married Phoebe Tripp,³⁸ daughter of William and Sarah (Slocum) Tripp. She was born in Orange County, N. Y.,

³⁷ In "The Michael Shoemaker Book", page 514, Amos Harding is said to be the son of Thomas and grandson of Capt. Stephen and Amy (Gardner) Harding, and his wife Phoebe is said to be the daughter of Isaac and Eleanor (Frear) Tripp of Clifford.

³⁸ She was fifth in descent from John Tripp and his wife, Mary Paine, of Portsmouth, R. I. The line is: John, Peleg, Job, Isaac, William, Phoebe. She was sixth from Anthony Slocum. The line is: Anthony, Giles, Samuel, Giles, Joseph, Sarah, who married William Tripp, Phoebe. She was a cousin of Frances Slocum, the "captive of Wyoming".

To The Honorable Court to be Holden at Pittsborough
and for the County of Luzern on the third meeting day next
Inclust Come your Honourable humble Petitioners we Beg
Leave to inform your Honourable that on running
the East line from the mouth of the Shesquing it
Appears to be on the South of us and of course we
cannot belong to the Township of Junkhannock
and the situation of the Country requires us to have
inestimable Privileges that our good citizens enjoy
for giving our votes in Elections as the Distance
is at least forty miles the nearest way over yet
Required as a Mandatary I wish to have your Humble Servt
that your Honourable Court take the matter of our
late Consideration and grant its Petition by setting
us off as a Separate Township bounded on the South by the
North line of the Township of Junkhannock and on the
East West and North as in your wisdom be found most Proper
and your Honourable Humble Petitioners as in duty bound
shall ever pray

Thorntown April 1774

Unqual Signers on the

1774

Samuel Woodruff
Benjamin Slocum
John Miller
John Collier
Jesse Collier
Joseph Haffier
Joseph Hallister
William Hartung

Isiah Hartfield
Reuben Clark
Israel Hartfield
John Hartfield
Jacob Haffier
Elias Hartfield
John Hartfield
John Hartfield
Henry Hartfield
Elizur Hartfield
Lazarus Hartfield
John Hartfield
John Hartfield
John Hartfield
John Hartfield
John Hartfield

August 17, 1767, and died at the home of her son, John Harding, in LaPorte County, Indiana, November 2, 1844. Her parents were early settlers in the Wyoming region and among the sufferers during and after the massacre.

After the marriage of Amos Harding his father gave him half of the improved part of his farm and there he and his wife lived for sixteen years.³⁹ Nine of their children were born in that home. His name is found in the 1790 census credited with one son and two daughters. The long controversy between the State of Pennsylvania and the Connecticut settlers in Wyoming and the uncertainty of the final outcome so discouraged him that he decided to leave the Valley and make a home elsewhere.⁴⁰ When and to whom he sold his Pittston farm is not known as no deeds of such transaction can now be found; but that he was well supplied with money when he left there is evidenced by his purchase of land and his other business dealings in the new home to which he removed.

He was a signer of the petition to the Pennsylvania General Assembly, praying for the erection of Luzerne County; and was also a signer of the manuscript petition for the erection of Nicholson Township to the Luzerne County Quarter Sessions,—furnished by William A. Wilcox of Scranton, Pennsylvania⁴¹. Nicholson Township erected in 1795 by this petition included that part of the present county of Susquehanna which covers the townships of Clifford, Lenox, Herrick, Gibson, Harford, the southern part of Ararat and eastern parts of Lathrop, and Brooklyn. In the present counties of Wyoming and Lackawanna it included those parts of Fell, Greenfield, Benton and the eastern half of Nicholson north of a line drawn east from the mouth of Meshoppen Creek to the Wayne county line.

³⁹ Statement of Amos Harding. See page 91, "Hardings in America."

⁴⁰ From family records, quoted by W. J. Harding in a letter to Mrs. Miller dated June 2, 1924.

⁴¹ See frontispiece.

Thornbottom was a locality,—not a municipality with boundaries. It was on the Tunkhannock Creek about where the Borough of Nicholson is, with its big D., L. & W. railroad viaduct; bottom meaning bottomlands along the stream. The signers to the petition may not have all been residents at the time of signing, some possibly being merely owners of property there. We have no reason to think that Abraham Harding resided there and we know that his son Amos (also a signer) did not become a resident of Nicholson Township until 1800. The petition reads:

To The Honorable Cort to be Holden at Wilksberry in and for the County of Luzarn on the Third monday in november Instant Come your Honours humble Petitioners and Begs Leave To inform yours Honours That on Runing An East Line from the mouth of Meshoping it Appears to be on the South of Us and of Cours we Cannot belong to The Towndship of Tunkhannock and the Cituation of the Cuntry Deprives us of Thosse Inestemable Privileges That our fellow Citizens Enjoy In giving our Votes in Elections as The Distance is at Least forty miles The Nearess way Ever yet Occupied as a Road to Wialusink we there fore Humbly Pray That Your Honours Would Take The maters afore Said into your Wise Consideration and grant Us Releas by Setting Us off as a Seperate Township Bounded on the South By the North line of The township of Tunkhannock and on the East West and North as in your Wisdom be found most Proper and yours Honours Humble Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall Ever Pray

Thornbottom April 1794	Isaiah Hallsted
Eliphulet Stephens Juner	Reuben Coller
Henry Felten	Isaac Doud
Samuel Woodruff	Amos Harding
Beniaman Kidder	Jacob Hoit
Daniel Coller	Elemeul Cary
Jesse Coller	Henery Allison
Joseph Hallsted	Ebenzr. Bartlett
Samuel Hallsted	Ebenezer Stephens
Abraham Harding	John Sager
	John Robinson
	Joseph Rider

In March, 1800,⁴² Amos Harding with his wife and eight children (one child having previously died) removed to that part of Nicholson township in Luzerne County which is now Clifford township, Susquehanna County, Pa.⁴³ This place was forty, or more miles from their old home in the Wyoming Valley, in a dense forest with scarcely a clearing, or habitation between it and the Susquehanna river at Pittston. There were no roads of any kind between the two places, but the snows which usually cover this region in March may have made possible the moving of household goods and other necessities upon sleds through the pathless forest; otherwise they had to be carried upon the backs of horses or oxen. The new home to which they came had no name, but was called "the Beech woods", an appellation given to a large stretch of country in the present counties of Susquehanna and Lackawanna.⁴⁴

⁴² This date is determined from authentic records.

⁴³ Luzerne County was erected from Northumberland County in 1786 and then included Susquehanna County which was erected from Luzerne in 1810 and legally organized in 1812. Clifford township, which was erected by Luzerne County in 1806, is in the southeast corner of Susquehanna County, being bounded on the east by Wayne County and on the south by Lackawanna. The valley in which is now the village of Clifford and the place where Amos Harding settled, is just north and within sight of the division line between the counties of Susquehanna and Lackawanna. This valley lies nearly north and south and is about three-quarters of a mile long and of varying width, nowhere being a half mile broad. It has an elevation of about 1100 feet. December 28, 1774, warrants for lots 37, 38 and 39 (See War-rantee map of Greenfield township, Lacka. Co.), in Northumberland County, Pa., containing 311 acres, 4 perches each, were granted by Pennsylvania to John Maxwell Nesbitt and deeded to him May 4, 1796. These lots were patented to David H. Conyngham October 24, 1800, and later became the property of Redmond Conyngham. (Record furnished by the Deputy Secretary of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Pa.) The village of Clifford and most of the valley lie in lot 37.

⁴⁴ Some years later the cluster of houses which formed the nucleus of the village of Clifford was called Farmersville, a name which clung to it even after the establishment of the Clifford post office in 1851. Letters came to Clifford post office directed to Farmersville as late as 1866.

Upon the arrival of the Harding family at Clifford they found a settler, Adam Miller, already upon the ground. He had come there in the spring of 1799 and bought all the land in the upper, or southern end of the valley, building his log cabin on the west side of the creek.⁴⁵ See illustration 1). Mr. Harding bought land of Mr. Miller on the east side of the creek and built his cabin a few rods east of the present main street of the village and on the north side of the cross road leading to Dundaff. The site of this cabin is now (1928) the property of Mrs. Andrew Chamberlain and the cabin stood in what is her back garden.

In September, 1800, six months after coming to Clifford, Lydia, the twelve year old daughter of Amos and Phoebe Harding, died. This was the first death to occur in Clifford township,⁴⁶ and the first burial in the cemetery on the hill east of the present Baptist church. Two years later Major Abraham Harding came from Orange County, N. Y., to live with his grandson Amos, and his was the second death to occur in the family after their removal to Clifford, and the second in the town so far as the records show. Before his death in 1806 three more children had been born to Amos and Phoebe Harding, and in the light of present day comforts it is hard to understand how three adults and ten children could live in the small cabin of two rooms and a loft.

Amos Harding bought from time to time all the Miller

⁴⁵ This creek is a tributary of the east branch of the Tunkhannock creek. It flows in a northerly direction the whole length of Clifford valley. On an ancient map is it called "Betsey's Brook", but it has borne the name of "The Aldermarsh" since the first settlers came to Clifford. The land of Adam Miller covered the site of the village on the east side of the creek and on the west side it stretched to the edge of lot 38. It appears that he bought directly of John M. Nesbitt, but apparently the Deed was not recorded at Wilkes-Barré as it is not to be found there now.

⁴⁶ It has always been believed heretofore, and so stated in all histories of Susquehanna County, that the first death to occur in Clifford was that of Huldah, daughter of Amos Harding. She was not born until four years after the death of Lydia. The above record is from the family bible of Amos Harding and is correct.

ILLUSTRATION (1).
View looking north. Line of trees borders creek. Group of buildings, right foreground, on Callender farm, which was first Adam Willett's second Amos Harding's and third Nathan Callender's. (1) Old cemetery, (1810). (2) New cemetery.



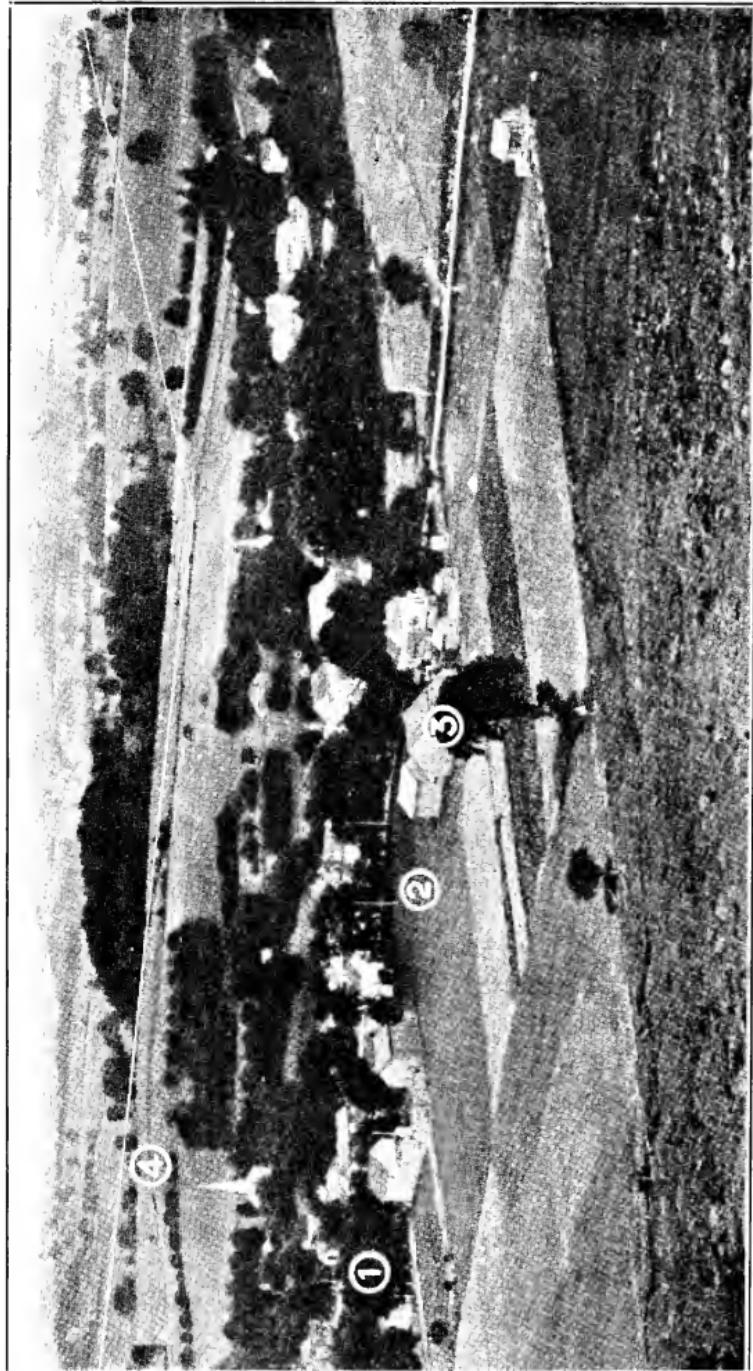


ILLUSTRATION (2).

View of Clifford Village looking east, Baptist Church at left, main part built 100 years ago. Methodist Church in center. Group of buildings in center foreground, Callender farm house and barns. All the land below the line belonged to the Hardings. (1) Site of first home of Amos Harding. (2) Site of second home of Amos Harding. (3) Barn built by Adam Miller before 1810. (4) Harding cemetery.

land on the east side of the creek; and finally when Mr. Miller decided to move up on the hill west of the valley, Mr. Harding bought the farm on the west side of the creek, giving Mr. Miller the privilege of occupying the cabin, while building his new home on the hill. This farm was somewhat cleared and several acres were under cultivation. Before moving into the Miller cabin in 1812, Mr. Harding added a large room to it, making a very comfortable home. It was the largest cabin for many miles around and had housed the first school taught in the valley, the Miller and Harding children being for several years the only pupils. During Mr. Miller's occupancy, religious services were often held in one of the rooms of this cabin, and the custom was continued after the Hardings moved into it. Mr. Miller built a large frame barn near this cabin which stands to-day (1928) in a good state of preservation, having been in constant use for nearly a century and a quarter. It is the oldest building now standing in Clifford township. (See illustration 2). This second home of Amos Harding stood about fifteen rods in a northeasterly direction from the barn, mentioned above, and between it and the creek.

August 1, 1816, Mr. Harding bought of William E. Robinson between 35 and 36 acres of land on the hill-side south of the valley; consideration, \$55.65. This land lay in both Lots 37 and 38, granted to John M. Nesbitt and ran over the county line into Greenfield township. (Deed recorded at Montrose, Pa., Nov. 17, 1818, in Deed Book, No. 3, page 55.) On the same day he bought another tract of Mr. Robinson containing 105 acres in Clifford and Greenfield townships; consideration, \$166.00. (Deed recorded at Wilkes-Barré, Jan. 27, 1820, in Deed Book, No. 20, page 120.) December 1, 1816, he bought of Redmond Conyngham, 118 acres, 44 perches of land in Lot 38 (to the west of Lot 37) granted to John M. Nesbitt; consideration, \$188.00. (Deed recorded at Wilkes-Barré, June 27, 1820, in Deed Book, No.

21, page 54.) These purchases of land, with what he had bought of Adam Miller, made Amos Harding the possessor of nearly, if not quite, 500 acres in Clifford and Greenfield townships.

The first day of January, 1817, Mr. Harding sold to his son-in-law, James Stearnes, 40 acres of the land lying in Clifford that he had bought of Redmond Conyngham; consideration, \$100.00. The witnesses to this Deed were M. R. Harding and Tryon Harding. (Recorded at Wilkes-Barré, April 27, 1819, in Deed Book, No. 20, page 50.) He sold to his son, Tryon Harding (Deed and date not found), between six and seven acres of the northern end of the Conyngham tract. Tryon Harding sold this land to Jacob Bedford, September 2, 1822; consideration, \$60.00 (Recorded at Montrose, Pa., in Deed Book, No. 5, page 319.) Jacob Bedford afterward sold this to Nathan Callender, date, December 1, 1824; consideration, \$48.00. (Recorded at Montrose, Dec. 1, 1824, in Deed Book, No. 5, page 320.) It is still included in what is known as the Callender Farm.

Amos Harding sold to James Finn, October 15, 1818, 112 acres of the 141 that he had bought of William E. Robinson; consideration, \$1900.00 (Recorded at Montrose, Nov. 17, 1818, in Deed Book, No. 3, page 53.) December 1, 1824, James Finn and wife Polly deeded this land to Nathan Callender; consideration, \$2500.00 (Recorded at Montrose, in Deed Book, No. 5, page 317.) None of this land is now included in the Callender farm. When and to whom it was sold by Callender is not now known, but it covered the southern part of the village and also the farm for many years owned and occupied by John Halsted now the property (1928) of Emery G. Greene. By changes in the county line after the date of the survey of this land as described in the Deed, all of it now lies in Clifford township.

June 1, 1820, Amos Harding sold to Nathan Callender 223 acres of land, "excepting 46 acres previously deeded to James

Stearnes and Tryon Harding", as the Deed reads; consideration, \$1500.00; witnesses, James Finn and Harly Hobbs. (Recorded at Wilkes-Barré in Deed Book, No. 21, page 55.) Most, perhaps all, of the 177 acres of this tract that went to Mr. Callender was the Adam Miller farm which Mr. Harding had bought in 1810. Mr. Callender lived in Dundaff and never occupied the farm himself.⁴⁷ Mr. Harding continued to live upon it until his removal to Ohio. It is evident that the remainder of the land bought by Mr. Harding in Clifford was sold to members of his family, but no records of sales are now to be found with one exception, viz.: the sale of 20 acres of the land bought of William E. Robinson, to his son Salmon E. Harding *before* the 26th of October, 1818, upon which date the said Salmon E. Harding sold it to George Oram. (Deed recorded at Montrose in Deed Book, No. 3, page 580.) This land "by sundry mentioned conveyances" (so reads a subsequent Deed) became the property of Henry Cuddeback. It is upon this land that the Harding burial ground on the hill east of the Baptist Church lies; and, because of certain restrictions imposed upon the owners relating to the preservation of said burial plot, some trouble of a legal nature arose. Therefore, on September 4, 1829, Amos and Phoebe Harding, then living in Richland Co., Ohio, gave a deed to Henry Cuddeback for this land, consideration fifty cents, to make good said Cuddeback's title. (Deed recorded at Montrose, Dec. 1, 1829, in Deed Book, No. 7, page 429.) Phoebe Harding signed this deed with a mark.

A curious and unexplainable transaction between Amos Harding and three of his sons was recorded at Montrose May 1, 1815, in Deed Book, No. 1, page 454. It reads: "This Indenture made and concluded this first day of April,

⁴⁷ Nathan Callender died in 1830 and his widow then removed from Dundaff to her farm in Clifford. It had evidently been rented after Mr. Harding left it, and at one time was occupied by a Mr. Mackey. J. M. Callender, son of Nathan, inherited it and in turn it descended to his daughter, now deceased, whose husband, Eugene Kennedy, now (1928) occupies it.

A. D. 1815, between Salmon E. Harding, Mordica Harding and Ebenezer S. Harding all of Clifford, Susquehanna County and State of Pennsylvania, of the first part and Amos Harding and his wife of the second part, WITNESSETH, that Whereas the said Amos Harding hath this day deeded all his property both real and personal to the said parties of the first part in consideration of the support and maintenance of himself and wife during their life time and the support and maintenance of the young children until the ages of fourteen years in consequence of the said Deeds and for the consideration of the personal property. We do lease and set over unto the said Amos Harding and to his wife during their life time all the said property in Clifford whereon we now live which was deeded by the said Amos Harding by deeds bearing even date herewith the said Amos to enter into and take possession of the said premises at any time when he shall think meet or his wife if she outlives her husband has the same privileges the said Amos has, during her lifetime. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals the day and year first above written. (Signed) S. E. Harding. Mordeca Harding. E. S. Harding. Acknowledged before A. Dimock, Justice. April 25, 1815."

Amos Harding and Adam Miller were among the heaviest tax payers in Clifford through the years up to and including 1813.⁴⁸ By that time many settlers had come into the township, but few had made their homes in Clifford valley.⁴⁹ Amos Harding and Adam Miller appear to have worked

⁴⁸ "Assessment of 1804 in Nicholson Township, Luzerne County. Amos Hardin, 18 acres improved land, \$72. One house, \$7. 7 horses and cattle, \$76." Some of the 18 acres were improved when Amos Harding bought of Adam Miller, and a good sized apple orchard had been started.

⁴⁹ Among these few settlers in Clifford valley was Isaac Tripp. His father and the father of Phoebe, wife of Amos Harding, were half brothers. Isaac Tripp was a son of Job and Hannah (Rice) Tripp of the Wyoming Valley. He was 5th in descent from John and Mary (Paine) Tripp of Portsmouth, R. I., the line being John, Job, Job, Jr., Isaac, Job, Isaac of this sketch. In his youth he was captured by the

together in the promotion of every enterprise for the betterment of the little community. They were instrumental in building in 1814 the first school house which stood upon, or very near the site of the present village school house; and they laid out and built the first road in Clifford. It led from their cabins in the valley over the hill to the southwest, past what in after years was known as the "Tinker farm". This road has long been abandoned. Amos Harding was one of the five "managers" (for soliciting funds?) of the Milford and Owego Turnpike and was undoubtedly a subscriber and share-holder. (Centennial history of Susquehanna County, page 48.)

Mr. Harding was active in the organization of the Clifford Baptist Church and one of its first members. This church was organized October 20, 1817, in the school house at Clifford mentioned above. It became one of the churches in the Abington Baptist Association. For some unknown reason Amos Harding was not one of the original thirty-four members although we find the names of his wife, three sons and wives of two on that list; but at the second Covenant meeting of the church, held December 20, 1817, he and his daughter Abigail, wife of James Stearnes, were admitted to membership on "experience". The day before, December 19th, an important church meeting had been held at Mr. Harding's house where much interesting business was transacted. The Abington Baptist Association met with the Clifford Church on Wednesday, September 6, 1820, the meetings being held in a new unused barn belonging to Salmon E. Harding. The delegates were entertained at dinner at the home of Amos Harding, but he was not present being called to Ohio on business. There is a tradition long remembered in Clifford,

Indians in Providence township, and remained a prisoner in Canada until after the close of the Revolution. He married Eleanor Frear and their descendants for two or three generations lived in Clifford, but the family is now extinct. Isaac Tripp was one of the 34 original members of the Clifford Baptist Church and was afterward a deacon of this church.

that Mr. Harding, being anxious that the food served at the dinner should be of the best, left a ten dollar bill (a large sum in those days) with his wife with strict orders that the butter especially, should be of the best quality, "for", said he, "if the bread is not just right, if the butter be good it might do very well". He occasionally preached in Clifford and other places. He preached at Bethany, Wayne County, Pa., in 1819, at a meeting of the Baptist Association, using for his text the words, "Blessed are the pure in heart". He also conducted the funeral service for his little daughter Huldah, who died in 1808, and according to the custom of the time preached a sermon. This child who was only four years old was drowned in a spring a few rods east of the Harding cabin. This was undoubtedly where the family got its drinking water for they had walled the spring from the bottom. Huldah leaned over the top of the wall and fell in.⁵⁰ Another child, Jemima, born in 1810, died in Clifford in childhood. Joseph, born in 1811, died in 1813.⁵¹

Four children of Amos and Phoebe Harding were buried in the plot on the hillside, and with the grandfather and first wife of Tryon Harding there are six graves of the family there. To recapitulate, the names and dates of deaths of these Hardings are:

1. Lydia Harding, died in September, 1800.
2. Major Abraham Harding, died in 1806.
3. Huldah Harding, died in 1808.
4. Jemima Harding, died in 1811.
5. Joseph Harding, died in October, 1813.
6. Anna (Roberts) Harding, first wife of Tryon Harding, died July 20, 1815.

When the newer cemetery was laid out in the northern end of the valley in 1816, some of the graves in this little burial ground were moved to it; but the Harding graves were left

⁵⁰ This spring is at the foot of the hill back of the Baptist Church.

⁵¹ "Joseph Harding, son of Amos Harding, died at Clifford, Pa., October, 1813." From notices of deaths published in the Susquehanna Democrat of Wilkes-Barré. (See Wyoming Historical and Geological Society's Proceedings, Vol. 10, page 175.)

undisturbed. They remain there to-day, with no stones or marks of any kind to show their exact location. Half a century ago the last vestige of a mound was leveled by the ruthless plow.⁵²

The exact time of the removal of Amos Harding from Clifford to Ohio is a matter of dispute. He was taxed in Clifford for the last time in 1819 and he sold his homestead property to Nathan Callender in June, 1820; but it is certain that he was still living there in September of that year and neighborhood tradition names a still later date for his removal. The weight of evidence, however, favors late 1820 or early 1821 as the true date. The records of the Clifford Baptist Church for the years between 1818 and 1828 are lost, but in 1830 it is recorded that Amos Harding and his wife had previously (no date given) been dismissed by letter.

Amos Harding must have been a man of strong character to make so lasting an impression upon a community as he did upon Clifford. There are aged people still living who remember the anecdotes and traditions concerning him which were told to them by his contemporaries. By the aid of these stories, we picture him as a high-spirited man of an adventurous nature, stern, unbending in matters affecting his convictions of right and justice, with strong religious beliefs, a "Hard-shell Baptist" of the old school, a shrewd and prosperous business man but generous and kind in his dealings with his family and neighbors. It is to be regretted that Clifford lost so early in its history this sturdy pioneer. In his western home he repeated the history of his activities in Clifford, and he died there an honored and respected citizen.

Children of Amos and Phoebe (Tripp) Harding; nine

⁵² This burial-ground on the farm of Amos Harding, was used by the community and there were at least twelve burials there, some say more. The last burial on the hill was that of John Robinson, father of William E. Robinson, and the first burial in the newer cemetery was that of Eleanor (Nicholson) Miller, wife of Adam Miller, who died in March, 1816.

born at Pittston, Luzerne Co., Pa., and eight at Clifford, Susquehanna Co., Pa.

1. Abigail Harding, born May 14, 1785; died Sept. 3, 1861; married at Clifford, Pa., Dec. 25, 1802, James Stearnes (born at Attleboro, Mass., Aug. 5, 1779; died in Ohio, May 5, 1837.) He was a son of Joseph and Rhoda (Tingley) Stearnes. (See "The Tingley family", by R. M. Tingley, p. 86.) They had ten children, eight born in Clifford and two in Ohio.
2. Lydia Harding, born in 1788; died at Clifford in Sept., 1800.
3. George Tryon Harding (more later).
4. William Tripp Harding, born July 15, 1792; died Feb. 8, 1884; married first, at Clifford, Pa., in 1811, Minerva Martindale, who was either killed by wild beasts or carried off by Indians soon after her marriage. (See "The Hardings in America", p. 133). He married second, in Ohio, Dec. 8, 1823, Mary Otis (born March 31, 1787; died Dec. 4, 1865.) They had five children.
5. Ruami Harding, born in 1793; died at Pittston, Pa., in 1799.
6. Salmon (or Solomon) E. Harding, born Jan. 31, 1794; died at Galion, Ohio, Feb. 7, 1872; married first, at Clifford, Pa., in 1815, Anna Wheat (born March 28, 1795; died Sept. 5, 1836.) They had eight children. He married second, in 1837, Eliza Lathrop. They had one child. He married third, Susan Mason. In Clifford he lived near the school house and was active in all church affairs. He signed his name Salmon while he lived in Clifford and it is so written in the church record. He organized the Bethel Baptist Church in Richland Co., Ohio, and was for many years its pastor.
7. Mordecai Rice Harding, born Nov. 18, 1795; died in Ohio, March 21, 1870; married at Clifford, Pa., Sept. 18, 1817, Susannah (Baker) Newton, daughter of Ebenezer Baker and widow of Thomas Newton. Mordecai and Susannah had nine children. After her death he married, Jan. 15, 1852, Martha Steele, who survived him. He was for fifty years a deacon of the Blooming Grove, Ohio, Baptist Church, and is buried in the old cemetery in that village.

8. Welthy Harding, born March 15, 1797; died August 19, 1886; married first, at Clifford, Pa., Nov. 6, 1814, Joseph Baker (born Aug. 30, 1788; died Jan. 8, 1834) a son of Ebenezer Baker. They lived in the part of Clifford township now called Elkdale, three miles from Clifford village. They had nine children. She married second, in Ohio, Jan. 24, 1835, Hiram Wells (died Jan. 24, 1885). They had four children.
9. Ebenezer Slocum Harding, born Aug. 23, 1798; died April 22, 1882; married first, in Ohio, June 21, 1821, Mary Webster (born April 3, 1801; died April 28, 1844.) She had eleven children. He married second, June 8, 1845, Naoma Wilson. She had two children. He was an "Old School Baptist" preacher.
10. Benjamin Franklin Harding, the first child of Amos and Phoebe Harding born in Clifford. Born Aug. 6, 1802; died April 3, 1838; married in Ohio, in 1824, Anna Jackson (born 1800; died 1890.) They had five children. He was a member of the "Old School Baptist" Church and often officiated as pastor.
11. Hulda Harding, born in Clifford in 1804; died there in 1808.
12. Hilah Harding, born April 10, 1805; died Sept. 13, 1877; married in Ohio, Oct. 21, 1821, Amos G. Webster (born March 31, 1799; died Jan. 27, 1879.) They had eight children.
13. John Harding, born July 11, 1807; died April 22, 1884; married, Feb. 10, 1830, Elvira Dunham (born in 1812; died in April, 1889.) He went with his parents to Ohio and lived in Richland County until 1834 when he removed to LaPorte County, Indiana. John and Elvira Harding had ten children. He was a wagon maker by trade and a farmer.
14. Chauncey C. Harding, born Jan. 14, 1809; died in Huron County, Ohio, Dec. 8, 1880; married, Feb. 22, 1830, Rachel Story (born Jan. 22, 1809; died March 10, 1869.) After his marriage he settled in Marion County, Ohio. He and his wife had six children.
15. Jemima Harding, born at Clifford, Pa., in 1810; died there in 1811.
16. Joseph Harding, born at Clifford, Pa., in 1811; died there in Oct., 1813.

17. Mahala Harding, born at Clifford, Pa., June 25, 1813; died in Harrison Co., Missouri, Feb. 26, 1904; married in Richland County, Ohio, Oct. 19, 1834, Richard L. Field (born May 24, 1808; died Nov. 8, 1892.) They had fourteen children.

All the children of Amos Harding settled in Ohio. Mordcaï was the first to go. In July, 1818, he and his wife went to Richland County and remained two years, when, the Indians becoming so hostile they feared for their safety, they returned to Clifford and stayed a year. In 1821 they went back to Ohio, their parents and others of the family accompanying them.

George Tryon Harding, oldest son of Amos and Phoebe Harding, was born at Pittston, Luzerne County, Pa., June 15, 1790, and died at Blooming Grove, Morrow County, Ohio, January 9, 1860. He married first, at Clifford, Pa., Anna (or Ella) Roberts who died July 20, 1815. They had two daughters:

1. Huldah Harding, born May 7, 1813; died May 27, 1898; married in 1831, Abraham Logan and had ten children.
2. Phoebe Ann Harding, born May 11, 1815; died in 1898; married in 1833, William Boyce and had ten children.

Mr. Harding married second, Elizabeth Madison, who was born July 26, 1800, and died Feb. 8, 1886. She was a daughter of William and Mary (Hooker) Madison.⁵³ Tryon Harding (as he is called in all records of him in Clifford, and

⁵³ The Madison genealogy as given in "The Hardings in America" is as follows: John (1605-1690) came from England to Virginia in 1670; Thomas (b. Eng. 1632—d. 1698); Joseph (1672-1763); Joseph (1701-1773); John (1729-1803), a Baptist preacher; William (1776-1840), mar. Mary Hooker; Elizabeth, mar. George Tryon Harding. The story told on page 128 of the book quoted, that John Madison, grandfather of Elizabeth, organized the first Baptist Church in Susquehanna County, Pa., is not supported by history. It must have been a church in a county adjacent to Susquehanna.

apparently also by his family) and his wife Elizabeth were two of the 34 original members of the Clifford Baptist Church. Her name is written "Betsy" on the church roll. They were both subsequently dismissed by letter, date unknown. Nothing of a legal nature is recorded of Tryon Harding in Pennsylvania with the exception of the purchase and sale of six acres of land on the western side of Clifford valley. The story of these transactions has already been told in the sketch of his father. It is very improbable that this is the only land he owned in Clifford, or that he resided upon it for there is no tradition of a house ever standing upon this steep hillside. So far as known it has always been covered, as it is to-day, by a woods with thick undergrowth.

Tryon Harding was the last of his family to leave Clifford, the date of his departure as given in "The Hardings in America" being 1822. In Ohio he eventually became the possessor of the original farm purchased there by his father, Amos Harding, which is still owned by Tryon's descendants. He appears to have prospered financially in his Ohio home. He is buried beside his father in the Blooming Grove cemetery.

The children of George Tryon and Elizabeth Harding, all born at Clifford, Pa., were:

1. William Oliver Perry Harding, born June 20, 1818; died March 28, 1901; married in 1839, Isabenda McGowan (born Dec. 27, 1815; died April 28, 1898). They had six children.
2. Charles Alexander Harding. (More later).
3. Mary Miranda Harding, born Jan. 30, 1822; died Sept. 25, 1888; married, May 20, 1840, Marcus W. Bennett. They had eight children.

Charles Alexander Harding, son of George Tryon and Elizabeth (Madison) Harding and grandfather of President Warren Gamaliel Harding, was born at Clifford, Pa., April 8, 1820, two years before his parents removed to Blooming Grove, Ohio. May 28, 1840, he married Mary Ann Craw-

ford, who was born August 26, 1823, and died March 11, 1895. She was a daughter of Joshua and Sophia Crawford. He inherited from his father the farm that Amos Harding owned and resided upon at Blooming Grove, Ohio, and was a successful farmer. He was an active member of the Blooming Grove Baptist Church, the land upon which it stands being donated by him. He also gave the land upon which stands the Blooming Grove school house. He died April 3, 1878, and is buried in the Blooming Grove cemetery beside his father and grandfather. The children of Charles Alexander and Mary Ann (Crawford) Harding were:

1. Phoebe A. Harding, born April 21, 1841; died April 8, 1912; married Oct. 1860, Thomas Mitchell and had one child that died in infancy.
2. Sophia Harding, born Nov. 1, 1842; died Nov. 17, 1909; married first, Dec. 18, 1858, Simon Ayres Numbers and had three children. She married second, Daniel V. Miller.
3. George Tryon Harding, M. D. (More later).
4. Elizabeth Harding, born April 27, 1846; died Sept. 2, 1852.
5. Mary Matilda Harding, born June 30, 1849; died March, 1850.
6. Lydia Frances Harding, born March 14, 1852; married, Oct. 3, 1871, Mr. Wyant and had three children.
7. Margaret Caroline Harding, married, Nov. 30, 1872, Daniel Marshman, and had four children.
8. Catherine Harding, born and died in 1857.
9. Sarah Eleanor Harding, born August 30, 1858; married, Dec. 25, 1874, Albert Wheeler Dickerson who died in 1919. They had one child.

George Tryon Harding, M. D., only son of Charles Alexander Harding, was born June 12, 1844. He married first, May 7, 1864, at Galion, Ohio, Phoebe Elizabeth Dickerson (born in 1843; died May 20, 1910), daughter of Isaac Haines and Charity Malvina (Van Kirk) Dickerson,⁵⁴ natives of

⁵⁴ The Van Kirk family is descended from Joseph Van Kirk of New Jersey, who had seven sons in the Revolutionary War. Three of these sons settled in Washington County, Pa., after peace was de-

Washington County, Pa. Dr. Harding is a Civil War Veteran and in 1884 served as Surgeon General of the National G. A. R. He graduated from the Cleveland Homeopathic Medical College in 1873 and has practiced his profession in Caledonia and Marion, Ohio. He is a member of the Baptist Church and in politics is a Republican. August 11, 1921, he married second, Alice Severns. He resides at Marion, Ohio.

The children of George Tryon and Phoebe E. (Dickerson) Harding are.⁵⁵

1. Warren Gamaliel Harding, President of the United States, born Nov. 1, 1865; died August 2, 1923. He married Florence Kling, who died Nov. 21, 1924. They had no children.
2. Charity M. Harding.
3. Mary Clarissa Harding.
4. Eleanor P. Harding.
5. Charles Alexander Harding (born 1874; died 1878).
6. Abigail Victoria Harding.
7. George Tryon Harding, Jr., M. D.
8. Phoebe Caroline Harding.

Members of the Clifford Baptist Church, who were of the Amos Harding family:

1. Tryon Harding. (Name written Hartin).
2. Salmon E. Harding.
3. Mordecai Harding. (Name written Mordaeu).
4. Phebe Harding. (Wife of Amos Harding).
5. Betsy Harding. (Wife of Tryon Harding).
6. Susannah Harding. (Wife of Mordecai Harding).
7. Joseph Baker. (Husband of Welthy Harding).
8. Welthy Baker. (Wife of Joseph Baker and daughter of Amos Harding. Her name written "Petty" Baker on the church roll; evidently a nick-name).

clared. One of these, William Van Kirk, married Deborah Watters and had five sons and five daughters. One daughter was Charity (1803-1878), who married Isaac Haines Dickerson and they migrated to Blooming Grove, Ohio. Their daughter, Phoebe, married Dr. George Tryon Harding.

⁵⁵ The records of these children are given in detail in "The Hardings in America".

The above names are found in the list of 34 original members. Those below were admitted to membership within a few weeks after the organization of the church.

9. William Harding.
10. Amos Harding.
11. Anna Harding. (Wife of Salmon E. Harding).
12. Abigail Stearnes. (Daughter of Amos Harding and wife of James Stearnes. Name written Starns).

All were dismissed by letter, but dates not given.

The names Lydia Harding and Amy Harding are also found upon the church roll as original members. They were not of the Amos Harding family, but probably lived in the part of Clifford later set off to Herrick township where a Luke Harding settled.

The purpose of this article, which is to tell the story of the ancestors of President Warren G. Harding, who lived in Luzerne and Susquehanna Counties, Pa., properly ends with the migration of the Amos Harding family to Ohio; but the following facts concerning the village of Blooming Grove, Ohio, and the Baptist Church there, both founded by Amos Harding and his sons, seem to belong with the narrative. We are indebted to George Tryon Harding, Jr., M. D., brother of President Harding, who, upon request, very kindly furnished what follows. We quote from his letter :

"Blooming Grove in North Bloomfield Township, Morrow County, Ohio, had the name of Corsica for its postoffice for many years, but with the coming of rural delivery, that post-office went out of existence, and the town is still Blooming Grove. It is served by rural delivery from Galion, a town of nine or ten thousand inhabitants, five miles away. It has about 100 inhabitants and there is a Methodist Church with a resident pastor and a Seventh-day Adventist Church with its local elder, both of which organizations are active. The first Baptist church in the community was located at the corners about one mile north of Blooming Grove on the

original farm owned by the Hardings. In 1865 an attempt was made to move it to the village, but it was too frail and was left on a piece of land owned by one of the Hardings about one-fourth of a mile from the village." (Dr. Harding does not say so, but from what follows it appears that this church building was abandoned when they failed to move it to the village.) He continues:

"In 1871 the present brick building (church) was built on land donated by my grandfather, Charles Alexander Harding, the same being a portion of the part of the original farm of George Tryon Harding that was left to his son Charles Alexander at his death. It is located about five hundred feet north of the intersection of the highways marking the location of Blooming Grove . . . and is at the very edge of the village. It stands upon the site of a former frame church" (which was probably the first church in the village, we gather from other remarks in the letter.) "A little way north (from this church) and on the west side of the same road, is the village cemetery originally donated by Solomon Harding . . . This Solomon Harding, sometimes called Salmon, was one of the original settlers in this community and is credited with having been a local preacher, and is also said to have erected the little frame church located about two and a half miles northwest of Blooming Grove and two and a half miles from Galion, which was for many years occupied by the so called Hard-shelled Baptists." We learn from this that Amos Harding and his sons covered a large stretch of country with their holdings of real estate; and that the different members of the family organized three different Baptist churches in Morrow County instead of one as we had supposed.

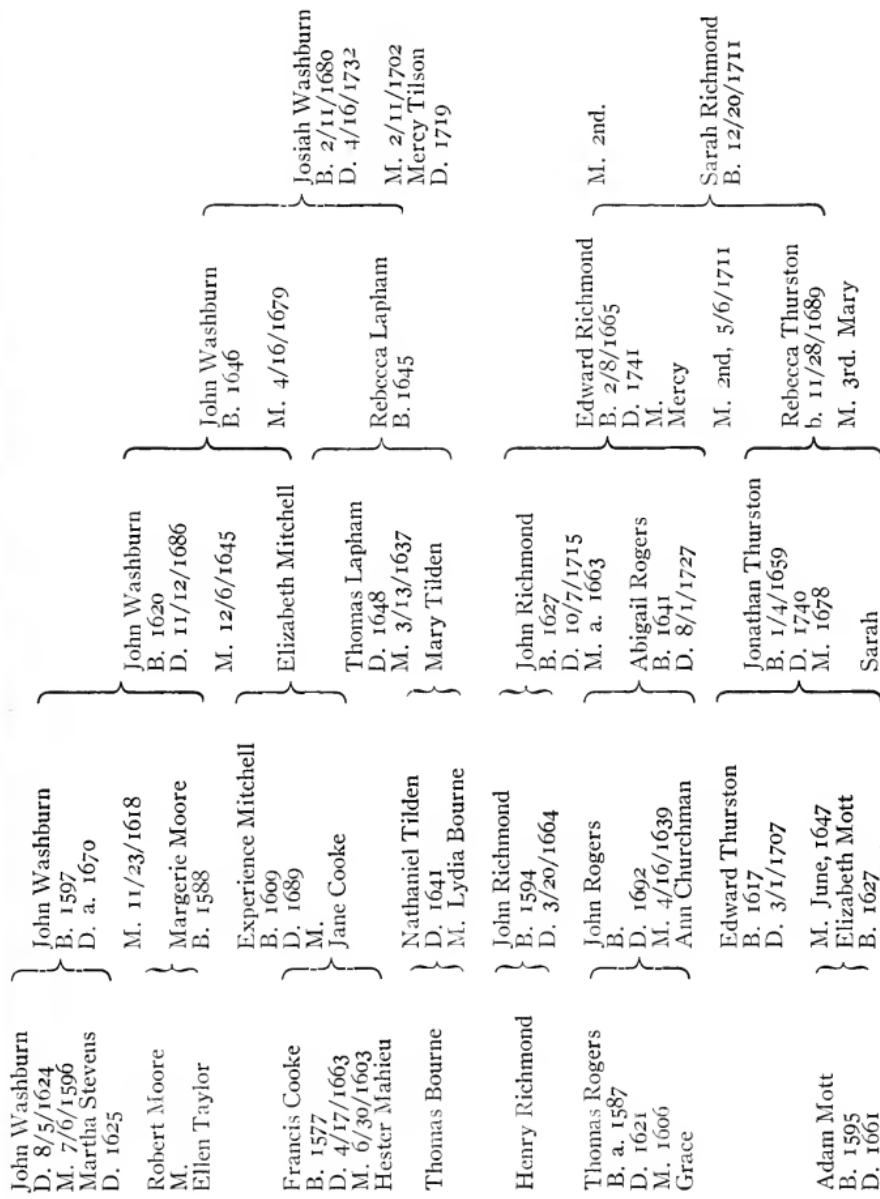
In speaking further of the village church erected in 1871, Dr. Harding says: "The congregation disbanded in 1912. It was then a member of the Mansfield Baptist Association, and the last pastor was Rev. Cunningham. There is no Baptist

church in Blooming Grove now but there is one in Galion. I purchased this Blooming Grove Baptist Church on December 5, 1925, from five men duly elected and qualified as acting trustees of the Mansfield Baptist Association, the governing body having charge of the interests of the Baptist churches located in Morrow, Crawford, Richland and Ashland counties. They were authorized by order of the Court of Common Pleas of Morrow County . . . to sell the premises of the Regular Baptist Church of Blooming Grove, Morrow County, Ohio, a religious society incorporated under the laws of the State of Ohio, which society had become extinct. On the 28th day of December, 1925, I gave a deed of lease to L. O. Harding, Benn Stevens, and E. E. Dicker-son, the former two being descendants of Amos Harding, of Pennsylvania, and all of them being my relatives and living with their families and conducting farming enterprises in that community, and they were to use it for the benefit of the community. The chief use it has been put to thus far has been as a place for athletic activities of the members of the local junior high school.

"I have heard my father speak of the interest that his grandparents took in religious and educational matters and of the efforts that they put forth in behalf of promoting these things in the new pioneer community. The early settlers came when the country was still visited frequently by Indians who had given up their ownership of the land by the Greeneville treaty which went into effect in 1819. I have heard father tell how they usually kept a young steer to fatten up for the meetings of the Baptist Association, so that they might extend hospitality to all who came to attend, and how delighted they were to entertain their fellow Baptists on such occasions at the home of his father."

SILENCE WASHBURN

DIAGRAM OF ANCESTRY OF SILENCE WASHBURN.



THE AMERICAN ANCESTRY OF
SILENCE WASHBURN,
WIFE OF JESSE WASHBURN
AND
MOTHER OF DANIEL WASHBURN, WHO ESCAPED THE
WYOMING MASSACRE.

JOHN WASHBURN, son of JOHN and MARTHA STEVENS WASHBURN, was born in Evesham on Shakespeare's Avon in 1597. On November 23, 1618, he married MARGERIE, daughter of ROBERT and ELLEN TAYLOR MOORE of Evesham. He emigrated to Duxbury, Mass., about 1631. In 1635, his wife, then aged 49, and two sons, John aged 14, and Philip aged 11, joined him there, coming over in the ship "Elizabeth and Ann." That he was an early settler in Duxbury is proved by the facts that in 1632 he had an action in court against Edward Doten and was assessed for taxes in 1633. In 1634, he purchased Edward Bompasse's place, called Eagle's Nest, where Bompasse had erected a "palisado." He and his two sons were reported as able to bear arms in 1643. He and his son, John, were two of the fifty-four original proprietors of the town of Bridgewater, Mass., in 1645. They bought the land from the Indian Sachem, Massasoit. John Washburn went to live in Bridgewater about 1665, a lot having been assigned to him on October 9, 1665. He died there before 1670. John and Margerie Moore Washburn had four children: 1. Mary; 2. JOHN; 3. Philip, died young; 4. Philip.

JOHN WASHBURN, son of John and Margerie Moore Washburn, was born in Evesham in 1620. He came to America in the "Elizabeth and Ann" in 1635. In 1638, A. Simpson was presented in court for "striking and abusing John Washburn, the younger, in the meeting-house on the Lord's Day." He was a tailor by trade. On December 6, 1645, he married ELIZABETH MITCHELL, daughter of Experience and Jane Cooke Mitchell. He lived in Duxbury, where his father had given him a house and lands at Wreems Harbor. In time he

became the second largest landholder in the town. He served against the Narragansett Indians in 1645, being one of the six men furnished by Duxbury under Sergeant Samuel Nash. He sold his Wreems Harbor property in 1670, and, about that time, removed to Bridgewater, Mass. He died November 12, 1686, leaving a will by which he divided his property among his children (Plymouth County Probate Office, Vol. 1, p. 84). John and Elizabeth Mitchell Washburn had eleven children: 1. JOHN; 2. Thomas; 3. Joseph; 4. Samuel; 5. Jonathan; 6. Benjamin; 7. Mary; 8. Elizabeth; 9. Jane; 10. James; 11. Sarah.

EXPERIENCE MITCHELL was one of the forefathers. He was at Leyden with the Pilgrims and left a brother, Thomas, who lived and died in Holland. In 1623, he came to America in the third ship "Ann", in the same ship with his future wife, JANE COOKE. He had a share in the first division of lots in Plymouth in 1623 and of the live stock in 1627. He lived at Spring Hill. In 1631, he sold Spring Hill to Samuel Eddy and removed to Duxbury, where in 1650, he purchased William Paybody's house and farm. He was an original proprietor of Bridgewater and was allotted 76 acres of land on John River, which, however, he soon sold. Later in life, he made Bridgewater his home, living at a place called Joppa. He died in 1689, aged 80. His will was dated December 5, 1689, and is recorded in Probate Record I, p. 44. Experience and Jane Cooke Mitchell had eight children: 1. Thomas; 2. John; 3. Jacob; 4. Edward; 5. ELIZABETH; 6. Mary; 7. Sarah; 8. Hannah.

FRANCIS COOKE was born in Scrooby, Eng., in 1577. His ancestors were Roman Catholics; and there is some uncertainty as to when he espoused the cause of the Separatists. He must have gone to Holland much earlier than the other Separatists: for in 1603 (probably June 30) he married HESTER MAHIEU in Leyden. She was the daughter of JENNIE MAHIEU of Canterbury, Eng., and was known as

Hester, the Walloon. They lived at the home of their pastor, Rev. John Robinson, while in Leyden. This large house was used as a place of worship by the Separatists. Francis Cooke, though a woolcomber at the time of his marriage, seems to have been a husbandman and carpenter in Plymouth. He and his son, John, embarked on the "Speedwell" at Delft-haven in July, 1620. At Southampton, they were transferred to the "Mayflower", and came with the first Pilgrims to America. He was the seventeenth signer of the Mayflower Compact. On January 7, 1621, the Pilgrims divided into nineteen companies so that it would not be necessary to put up so many houses. The company in which Francis and John Cooke were placed had a plot on the south side of the street between Allerton on the east and Winslow on the west. In the first division of land, Francis Cooke got two acres south of the brook and four acres on Strawberry Hill. Hester Cooke came over in the "Ann" in July, 1623, with three children: Jacob, Jane and Hester. Their house in Plymouth was in Leyden Street, adjoining that of Edward Winslow. Francis Cooke had six shares in the division of the land in 1626. A daughter, Mary, was born in 1626, which gave him an additional share in the division of the cattle in 1627. In June, 1627, he was one of the "Purchasers", who bought out the "Adventurers"; and next month he signed an agreement between the "Purchasers" and the "Undertakers" giving the latter six years' control of the trade of the colony with the outside world. He was the owner of a parcel of upland next to John Shaw on Smelt River, land next to John Coombs at Rocky Nook, six acres at North Meadow by Jones River, "three holes of meddow lying at the Hither end of Greate Meddow Caled Jones River"; and he and his son, John, owned land at North River. He was one of the Proprietors of Little Compton, R. I., 1651; of Dartmouth, 1652; and of Middleboro, 1662. He and his son, John, contributed one-sixteenth of the cost of building a bark of forty or fifty tons

on February 3, 1642. He was taxed 18s. in 1633, and appears on the tax list of Plymouth in 1646 and again between 1648 and 1659. He is mentioned as able to bear arms in 1643. He was appointed to take the inventories of the estates of Martha Harding and Francis Eaton. He was appointed a surveyor to lay out land in twenty-acre lots, to lay out highways for Plymouth, Duxbury, Eel River, and the Jones River District, and to measure the meadows about Edward Doty's. He was appointed to settle differences about the accounts of Dr. Samuel Fuller and Peter Brown, to fix the bounds between John Shaw, Kenelm Winslow and John Atwood, to settle the controversy between Thomas Pope and William Shurtleff concerning the boundary of lands on Strawberry Hill. It is known that he served on at least one coroner's jury, eleven civil juries, three grand juries and two petit juries. Francis Cooke died at Plymouth April 17, 1663. His will and inventory are of record in Plymouth County, Wills and Inventories, Vol. II, Part II, folios 1 & 2. The inventory shows his personal estate to have been worth £86, 11s. 1d. Hester Mahieu Cooke died between June 28, 1666, and December 18, 1675. Francis Cooke is described by one of his biographers as "a man of sound judgment, of decisive, though not arbitrary, action, who could see both sides of any question, even when the necessity of action or conviction be against his interest. In 1634, he was chosen referee in settlement of various affairs between members of the colony. His death in 1663, was regarded as an irreparable loss by his townsmen." Francis and Hester Mahieu Cooke had five children: 1. John; 2. Jacob; 3. JANE; 4. Hester; 5. Mary.

JOHN WASHBURN, son of John and Elizabeth Mitchell Washburn, was born about 1646, and died between 1719 and 1724. On April 16, 1679, he married REBECCA LAPHAM. They resided in Bridgewater, Mass., he being one of the original proprietors of that settlement. He and his two

brothers, Samuel and Thomas, were soldiers in King Philip's War. John and Rebecca Lapham Washburn had six children: 1. JOSIAH; 2. John; 3. Joseph; 4. William; 5. Abigail; 6. Rebecca.

THOMAS LAPHAM was a close friend of Rev. John Lothrop and Elder Nathaniel Tilden, who came from Kent County, Eng. It is, therefore, supposed that Thomas Lapham also came from Kent County. It is thought he came to America in 1634. He was at Scituate, Mass., in 1635. He joined the First Church in Scituate on March 24, 1636, and on March 13, 1637, married MARY TILDEN. He died in 1648, leaving a will. The name, Thomas Lapham, seldom appears in the town records; but is frequently found in the ecclesiastical history of the town. Thomas and Mary Tilden Lapham had six children: 1. Elizabeth; 2. Mary; 3. Thomas; 4. Lydia; 5. REBECCA; 6. Joseph.

Elder NATHANIEL TILDEN was of Tenterden, Kent County, Eng. He came to Massachusetts in 1634 with his family in the "Hercules" of Sandwich. He had previously visited Plymouth Colony, being at Scituate in 1628. He brought with him seven children, all born in England, and several servants. His wife was LYDIA BOURNE, daughter of THOMAS BOURNE. Nathaniel Tilden was a Ruling Elder of Rev. Lothrop's church and one of the wealthiest of the early settlers. He died in 1641. His widow married Timothy Hatherly in 1642. In his will he gave his wife, Lydia, the income from his stone house with the lands in Tenterden, in which "Richard Lambeth dwelleth." Nathaniel and Lydia Bourne Tilden had seven children: 1. Joseph; 2. Thomas; 3. MARY; 4. Sarah; 5. Judith; 6. Lydia; 7. Stephen.

JOSIAH WASHBURN, son of John and Rebecca Lapham Washburn, was born February 11, 1680. He resided in Bridgewater, Mass., where he died on April 16, 1732. On February 11, 1702, he married Mercy Tilson, who died in 1719. He later married SARAH RICHMOND. He and Mercy

Tilson had 7 children: 1. Joanna; 2. Joseph; 3. Lydia; 4. Jemima; 5. Rebecca; 6. Josiah; 7. Mercy. He and Sarah Richmond had: 8. Mary; 9. SILENCE; 10. Nathan. (See note under Sarah Richmond).

JOHN RICHMOND, son of HENRY RICHMOND, alias Webb, was born at Ashton-Keynes, Wilts, Eng., in 1594. He married in England. He and his brother, Henry, were both officers of distinction in the civil wars, John in the King's Army and Henry in Cromwell's. As a result their father's house was repeatedly plundered by both armies. "On the night preceding one of the engagements, Henry went into the camp of the other army, eluded the vigilance of the sentinels, and reached John's tent in the hope of enjoying an affectionate interview previous to the uncertain events of the morrow. On his entering the tent, John, alarmed at the sudden appearance of a stranger, as he conceived Henry to be, rose upon his bed and shot him dead upon the spot. When he discovered his mistake, it is said he became deranged." This event, no doubt, accounts for John's restless career. John then joined a colony of cadets of noble English families on the western coast of Ireland. Here George Richmond, possibly a cousin, was established and largely interested in navigation. He carried on a flourishing trade with Saco, Me. About 1635, John migrated to Saco, probably on one of George Richmond's ships, and engaged in business there. Records of courts held at Saco under Capt. William Gorges mention a number of suits in which John Richmond was a party. Nothing seems to be known of him between 1643 and 1655; and it is believed he returned to England and engaged in the civil wars between those dates. He was absent from Taunton most of his life; and records mention him as being at Newport, R. I., and other places. But he returned to Taunton, where he died March 20, 1664. He was the owner of six shares of the original purchase of Taunton, was a large landholder and quite wealthy for his time. In 1656, he

was one of the commissioners for Newport in the Court of Commissioners held at Portsmouth, R. I. He took the oath of fidelity at Taunton before 1640. The members of his family were large owners of land in the easterly part of Taunton and gave the name, Richmondtown, to a village in that locality. John Richmond had four children: 1. JOHN; 2. Edward; 3. Sarah; 4. Mary.

JOHN RICHMOND, son of John Richmond, was born in England in 1627, and died at Taunton, Mass., on October 7, 1715. He was a well-educated and cultured gentleman. He lived in Taunton at Neck of Land about three-fourths of a mile from the "Green" or "Center", where he and his wife are buried. On September 28, 1671, he and four others bought from Philip and his head-men a tract of land including Taunton, of which the purchasers were already in possession. In 1672, he and James Walker were appointed to purchase other lands from the Indians. He was a member of the Town Council in 1675-76 and in 1690, and also served as constable, commissioner, and surveyor. In March, 1677, he was distributor of ten pounds, Taunton's share of the Irish Charity sent from Dublin in 1676 to be divided among the sufferers in King Philip's War. He was a member of every important committee in Taunton for the purchase, division, and settlement of land and other matters of public interest. He was interested in several extensive purchases of land from the Indians in both Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Judging from the date of birth of Abigail Rogers, he must have had two wives. Who his first wife was is not known. She must have died about 1662. About 1663, it seems, he married ABIGAIL ROGERS. She was born in 1641 and died August 1, 1727. John Richmond had eleven children: 1. Mary; 2. John; 3. Thomas; 4. Susanna; 5. Joseph; 6. EDWARD; 7. Samuel; 8. Sarah; 9. John; 10. Ebenezer; 11. Abigail.

JOHN ROGERS compiled the Matthews Bible partly from the

Tyndale translation and partly from the Coverdale translation, adding notes of a strong Protestant tendency. He was the first Protestant martyr under Queen Mary of England.

THOMAS ROGERS, great grandson of John Rogers, was born about 1587. About 1606 he married GRACE ; in Dorset or Wilts. He and his eldest son, Joseph, came over in the Mayflower in 1620. Thomas Rogers died in the first sickness in February, 1621, and was buried on Cole Hill. There is no evidence that he lived with the Pilgrims in Leyden, Holland, or that he went to England in the Speedwell. The fact that his wife and young children were not with him on the Mayflower would seem to indicate that his family remained at their home in Dorsetshire or Wiltshire. The family probably remained with the brother William, who afterwards married the widow of Thomas. Upon the death of William about 1630, the other children of Thomas migrated to America. Among the children of Thomas were: 1. Joseph; 2. Thomas; 3. William; 4. JOHN; 5. James.

JOHN ROGERS of Duxbury, son of Thomas Rogers, according to Bradford, came over some time later than his father. Among those "rated" on March 25, 1633, were Joseph and John Rogers—9 shillings each. In 1634, Edmund Chandler sold him a lot of land on the Duxbury side. John Rogers was propounded a freeman on September 7, 1641, and admitted March 1, 1642. On April 16, 1639, he married ANN CHURCHMAN. In 1640, he was granted fifty acres of land at North River, which he soon sold. In 1644, he was appointed surveyor of Duxbury and the same year was appointed to

NOTE.—Thomas Rogers, the Pilgrim, was a descendant of Edward I., King of England, and his wife, Eleanor of Castile, in the following line: Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I., and Humphrey de Bohun VIII.; Margaret de Bohun and Hugh de Courtenay, Earl of Devon; Sir Philip de Courtenay and Margaret Wake; Sir John de Courtenay and Anne Champernowne; Sir Philip de Courtenay and Elizabeth Hungerford; Catherine de Courtenay and Thomas Rogers; John Rogers and Margaret Wyatt; John Rogers, the Martyr, and Adriana Pratt (de Weyden); Bernard Rogers; Thomas Matthew Rogers; Thomas Rogers, the Pilgrim.

lay out a highway. He took a share of land at Bridgewater, but sold before it was laid out to him. In 1650, a way to Massachusetts Path was laid out over his land and he was allowed a tract of upland in lieu of the damages resulting. In 1657, he was one of the deputies from Duxbury; in 1666, was constable; and in 1669 was surveyor of highways. His name is repeatedly found on juries and inquests. In 1666, the court gave him liberty to "look for land", and in 1673 granted him 100 acres of land between Taunton and Tetcicut. In 1687, he conveyed to his grandsons, Joseph and Edward Richmond, 100 acres of land in Middleboro. His will was dated August 26, 1691, and probated September 20, 1692. John and Ann Churchman Rogers had four children: 1. John; 2. ABIGAIL; born in 1641, died August 1, 1727; 3. Anna; 4. Elizabeth.

ANN CHURCHMAN was probably the daughter of HUGH CHURCHMAN who settled at Lynn, Mass., in 1640, and died in 1644. His will was probated July 9, 1644.

EDWARD RICHMOND, son of John and Abigail Rogers Richmond, was born in Taunton, Mass., on February 8, 1665. He married, first, Mercy ; and, second, on May 6, 1711, REBECCA THURSTON. Upon her death, he married Mary . He and his brother, Joseph, bought 150 acres of land in Middleboro from John Rogers of Duxbury. His will is dated June 3, 1738, was probated December 9, 1741, and is recorded in will book 10, page 111, Taunton, Mass. By his first wife he had eight children: 1. Mercy; 2. Edward; 3. Richard; 4. Josiah; 5. Nathaniel; 6. Seth; 7. Elizabeth; 8. Phebe. By his second wife he had four children: 9. SARAH; 10. Mary; 11. Priscilla; 12. Enice.

EDWARD THURSTON was the first of the name in the Colony of Rhode Island. In June, 1647, he married ELIZABETH MOTT. He is mentioned as a freeman in 1655, as commissioner, assistant, and deputy from Newport for many years, from 1663 to 1690. On August 26, 1686, he, with

others, signed an address for the Quakers of Rhode Island to the King. He died March 1, 1707, aged 90. His wife died September 2, 1694, aged 67. His will, dated January 11, 1704, was probated March 12, 1707. Edward and Elizabeth Mott Thurston had twelve children: 1. Sarah; 2. Elizabeth; 3. Edward; 4. Ellen; 5. Mary; 6. JONATHAN; 7. Daniel; 8. Rebecca; 9. John; 10. Content; 11. Samuel; and 12. Thomas.

ADAM MOTT, aged 39, from Cambridge, Eng., his second wife, Sarah, aged 31, four children by a former wife, and Mary Lott, a daughter of Sarah by a former husband, were passengers from London for New England in the "Defence" in July, 1634. He was a tailor and "brot testimony from the Justices of the Peace and Minister of Cambridge." On May 25, 1636, he was admitted as a freeman of the Colony of Massachusetts, and, in the same year, he was granted land at Hingham. Adam and Sarah Mott were members of the First Church of Roxbury. After the birth of their first child, they removed to Rhode Island, where, on June 23, 1638, he had a grant of land in Portsmouth. On August 1, 1638, Adam and John Mott were on the list of inhabitants of the island of Aquedneck. Adam was on the court roll of freemen, March 16, 1641; and Adam, Sr., and Adam, Jr., were on the roll of freemen in 1655. The family record says that Adam first located near Bristol Ferry, that he afterwards removed to a farm "near the sea or salt water", and that he there built two houses, one for himself and the other for his son, Adam, Jr., who married his own step-sister, Mary Lott. His will dated April 2, 1661, probated August 31, 1661, is of record in the Office of the Town Clerk of Portsmouth, R. I. By his first wife, he had four children: 1. John; 2. Adam; 3. Jonathan; 4. ELIZABETH. By his second wife he had three children: 5. Jacob; 6. Eleazer; 7. Gershon.

JONATHAN THURSTON, son of Edward and Elizabeth Mott Thurston, was born in Newport, R. I., on January 4, 1659.

In 1678, he married Sarah . He died in 1740. His will was made August 22, 1735, and probated in Taunton, April 15, 1740, and recorded there in will book 9, page 390. He had eighteen children: 1. Edward; 2. Elizabeth; 3. Mary; 4. Jonathan; 5. REBECCA, born November 28, 1689; 6. Content; 7. Sarah; 8. John; 9. Eleanor; 10. Hope; 11. Abigail; 12. Patience; 13. Amy; 14. Peleg; 15. Jeremiah; 16. Susanna; 17. Joseph; 18. Job.

SARAH RICHMOND, daughter of Edward and Rebecca Thurston Richmond, was born in Taunton, Mass., on December 20, 1711. She married Josiah Washburn. He died April 16, 1732, and she and Edward Richmond administered on the estate in 1734. On February 13, 1738, she married Samuel Crane of Milton, Mass. By her first husband, she had the following children: 1. Mary; 2. SILENCE; 3. Nathan. By her second husband, she had one son, Samuel, who died unmarried leaving a considerable estate. This estate descended to his half-brother and half-sisters.

Silence Washburn, daughter of Josiah and Sarah Richmond Washburn, was born in Bridgewater, Mass., about the year 1730. On December 29, 1748, she married Jesse Washburn in Bridgewater, Mass. About 1760, Jesse migrated to what is now Monroe County, Pa. Shortly thereafter Silence died. It is not known whether she died in New England or in Pennsylvania.

Jesse Washburn is said to have been born in Kingston, Mass., and is supposed to have been the son of Elisha Wash-

NOTE.—The children of Josiah and Sarah Richmond Washburn are usually given as above. At the time of the distribution of the estate of Samuel Crane, the law of Massachusetts gave the oldest male heir the same share in an estate as any other child. Receipts in the Registry Office in Plymouth, Mass., show that the estate of Samuel Crane was divided into four nearly equal parts, as follows: one part to Jonathan Washburn; one part to Josiah Washburn; one part to the heirs of Silence Washburn; and one part to Silvanus Pratt, Olive Howe, and Marcus Howe. This would seem to indicate that there were two sons: Jonathan and Josiah.

burn. On December 29, 1748, he married Silence Washburn of Bridgewater, Mass. About 1760, he migrated to Pennsylvania and settled in what is now Monroe County. The first authoritative statement we have concerning his life in Pennsylvania is found in the court records of Northampton County. He owned a small tract of land on Beaver Creek west from Delaware Water Gap. He seems to have been a carpenter and mill-wright. On August 29, 1762, he entered into an agreement of partnership with William Lollar to build a small mill on his land. An agreement having been reached to satisfy Lollar for his interest in the mill, on October 27, 1762, William Lollar conveyed to Jesse Washburn his interest in the property. On August 21, 1765, Jesse Washburn made application for 200 acres of land on McMichael's Creek, also within the present limits of Monroe County. It seems that for some reason he could not keep his agreement with Lollar: for, on June 4, 1781, Sheriff John Harzel conveyed to Myer Hart 189 acres of land on McMichael's Creek to satisfy a judgment of Lollar against Washburn. His reverses in the Lehigh Valley together with Indian troubles there probably caused him to direct his attention to the attempt of the people of Connecticut to settle the Wyoming Valley. Among these settlers were some of his kinsmen. He removed to the Wyoming Valley some time before 1778. The poll and ratable estates accepted by the Connecticut Assembly in 1778 show that he was assessed thirty pounds in Plymouth District, Westmoreland County. On February 17, 1778, he bought from Asaph Whittlesey a house lot and a meadow lot in lower Shawnee meadow, Westmoreland Co., Conn., now Plymouth, Luzerne Co., Pa. (This Asaph Whittlesey was a captain and lost his life at the head of his men in the Wyoming Massacre). Jesse Washburn sold this property to his son-in-law, Jacob Andreas, on March 28, 1791. At the time of the massacre, Jesse Washburn was living in the Wyoming Valley. He did

not, however, take part in the battle, his place being filled by his son, Daniel. During the battle Jesse with his second wife, his son Caleb, and two small children, and Mrs. William Woodring with her five children fled to Shawnee Fort (Plymouth). Here about midnight they were joined by Daniel, who had escaped the massacre. In the morning they made a raft and floated down the Susquehannah to the mouth of the Little Wapwallopen. They then made their way over the mountains and down the Lehigh Valley to Gnadenhuettten (Weissport), arriving there the third day after the battle. Jesse Washburn died between 1800 and 1810. On August 25, 1810, Jesse Washburn (Jr.) of Chestnuthill Township, Northampton Co., Pa., and Daniel Washburn and Caleb Washburn of East Penn Township in the same county, sons and heirs-at-law of Jesse and Silence Washburn of Bridgewater, Mass.; Peter Andreas, natural guardian of his children by Thankful Washburn, deceased, one of the daughters and heirs of Jesse and Silence Washburn; Jacob Andreas, natural guardian of his children by Sarah Washburn, deceased, another daughter and heir of Jesse and Silence Washburn; and Catharine Blin, only daughter and heir of Rebecca Blin, deceased, who was another daughter and heir of Jesse and Silence Washburn, granted to Solomon Hayward a power of attorney to convey their interest in the estate of Samuel Crane. (Recorded in deed book 118, at page 32, Plymouth, Mass.). During the War of the Revolution, Jesse Washburn, Sr., served as a lieutenant in the Northampton County Militia (Pa. Arch. 5, VIII, 281, 305, 561: 5, IV, 353, 670: 3, XXIII, 305, 306). It is sometimes difficult to tell which Jesse is referred to in the Archives; that both were soldiers in the Revolution is proved by the fact that the muster roll of May 14, 1778, Fourth Battalion, First Company, Capt. John Gregory, shows that Jesse WHASBORN was Sergeant and that Jesse WHASBORN was a fourth class private in the same company (Pa. Arch. 5, VIII, 305, 306). There is fair evidence that they were both lieutenants before the end of the War. Jesse Washburn married a second time,

a daughter, it is said, of John Rhodes; and raised a second family.

Jesse and Silence Washburn had the following children:

I. Rebecca, married Jacob Blin and had a daughter, Catharine Blin.

II. Thankful, born about 1752; died before 1810 and is buried at St. Johns, Pa. On December 8, 1772, she married Peter Andreas, who was a sergeant in the Revolution (Pa. Arch. 5, VIII, 233, 449, 465, 509). Peter and Thankful Washburn Andreas had the following children:

1. Sarah, born September 12, 1773, married John Raeber.
2. John Jacob, born January 15, 1776.
3. Anna Elizabeth, born November 14, 1777.
4. Anna Maria, born May 3, 1780, married Martin Rehrig.
5. John Peter, born March 21, 1782, married Nancy Miller.
6. Daniel, born May 23, 1784, married Gertrude Guldner.
7. John, born June 23, 1786; married, first, Barbara Balliett; second, Susanna Barager; third, Margaret Barager.
8. John George, born October 30, 1788, married Catharine Miller.
9. John William, born June 19, 1791, died unmarried.
10. Magdalena, born May 21, 1794.

III. Jesse, born July 25, 1759, died April 2, 1716. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, perhaps a lieutenant. He married Catharine _____, and had the following children:

1. Daniel, married Elizabeth Greenzweig.
2. John.
3. Elizabeth.
4. Lydia, married Isaac Schmidt.
5. Susan.
6. Sarah, married Ludwig Kleinduff.
7. Mary, born in 1785, died March 20, 1866.
8. Rosina.
9. Nancy.

IV. Sarah was born February 14, 1760, and died February 22, 1803. She married Jacob Andreas, who was a soldier

in the Revolution (Pa. Arch. 5, VIII, 450, 465, 510). They had five children:

1. Elizabeth, married Henry Roth.
2. John Jacob.
3. John.
4. Stephen.
5. William.

V. Daniel, born in 1763; baptised in Unionville Reformed Church, April 19, 1782; married Barbara , in 1784. He was one of the last survivors of the Wyoming Massacre, and, in 1846, wrote an account of his experience in that battle. His name is to be found among those of the survivors on the southeast side of the monument near Forty Fort. He was a soldier in the Revolution (Pa. Arch. 5, IV, 353, 670: 5, VIII, 440, 449, 496, 509). He is buried in Maple Grove Cemetery, Beaver Meadows, Pa., in an unmarked grave. This cemetery is neglected and overgrown with bushes and trees. But one grave is marked, that of a New England soldier of the Revolution!

VI. Caleb.

REFERENCES: Cutter's Personal Memoirs of Massachusetts Families; Washburn Family, by E. A. B. Barnard; Ebenezer Washburn, by George T. Washburn; Bridgewater, by Mitchell; Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth, by Davis; Savage's Genealogical Dictionary of New England Families; Duxbury, by Winslow; Plymouth Settlement, by Bradford; "Mayflower Descendants"; Signers of the Mayflower Compact; Lapham Family, by W. B. Lapham; Richmond Family, by J. B. Richmond; John Rogers Families of Plymouth and Vicinity, by J. H. Drummond; Thurston Genealogies, by Brown Thurston and Myrick Thurston; Lineage of the Rogers Family, by John Cox Underwood; Probate and Registry Records of Portsmouth, R. I., and Plymouth and Taunton, Mass., especially wills, deeds, and receipts in settling the estate of Samuel Crane; Court Records of Northampton, Monroe, and Luzerne Counties, Pa.

WILLIAM TILDEN STAUFFER,
a descendant of

Newport News, Va.,
July 25, 1928.

Jesse and Silence Washburn
in the fifth generation.



Powder horn in possession of Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.
Engravings on a buffalo horn, bone disk inlays and plug.

THE CATLIN POWDER HORN.

The acquisition by the Society of this remarkably engraved buffalo horn, through the generosity of Mr. Edward Welles, Jr., has suggested the publication of the following brief description of the horn itself and the biographical sketch of Catlin, whose name is known and whose work is prized both in America and Europe.

The fact that George Catlin was born in Wilkes-Barré is little known and in itself warrants this presentation of his life and work to his fellow citizens of later generations.

As stated by Dr. Arthur C. Parker, Director of the Rochester, N. Y., Museum of Arts and Sciences, this powder horn, made from a buffalo horn, was given by George Catlin, the artist, to a Seneca Chief who visited Niagara Falls at the time Catlin painted Red Jacket's picture. Tradition says that Catlin gave it to Red Jacket, himself. It was for many years in the possession of a Seneca family directly descended from Sayenqueraughta, the Seneca leader in the Battle of Wyoming.

Dr. Walter Hough, Head Curator of Anthropology in the United States National Museum, when the horn was shown him in March, 1924, stated that he "believed that this undoubtedly is the work of George Catlin."

The reproductions of the engravings were made with much painstaking care by Mr. William G. Ackerman of Wilkes-Barré.

The following account of the horn is by Dr. Parker:

This specimen came from the Tonawanda Seneca reservation in Genesee County, New York, and is from the Doctor collection which was divided in three lots. The first lot was acquired by the State Museum, Albany, the second by Mr. Alvin H. Dewey of Rochester, and the third by the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

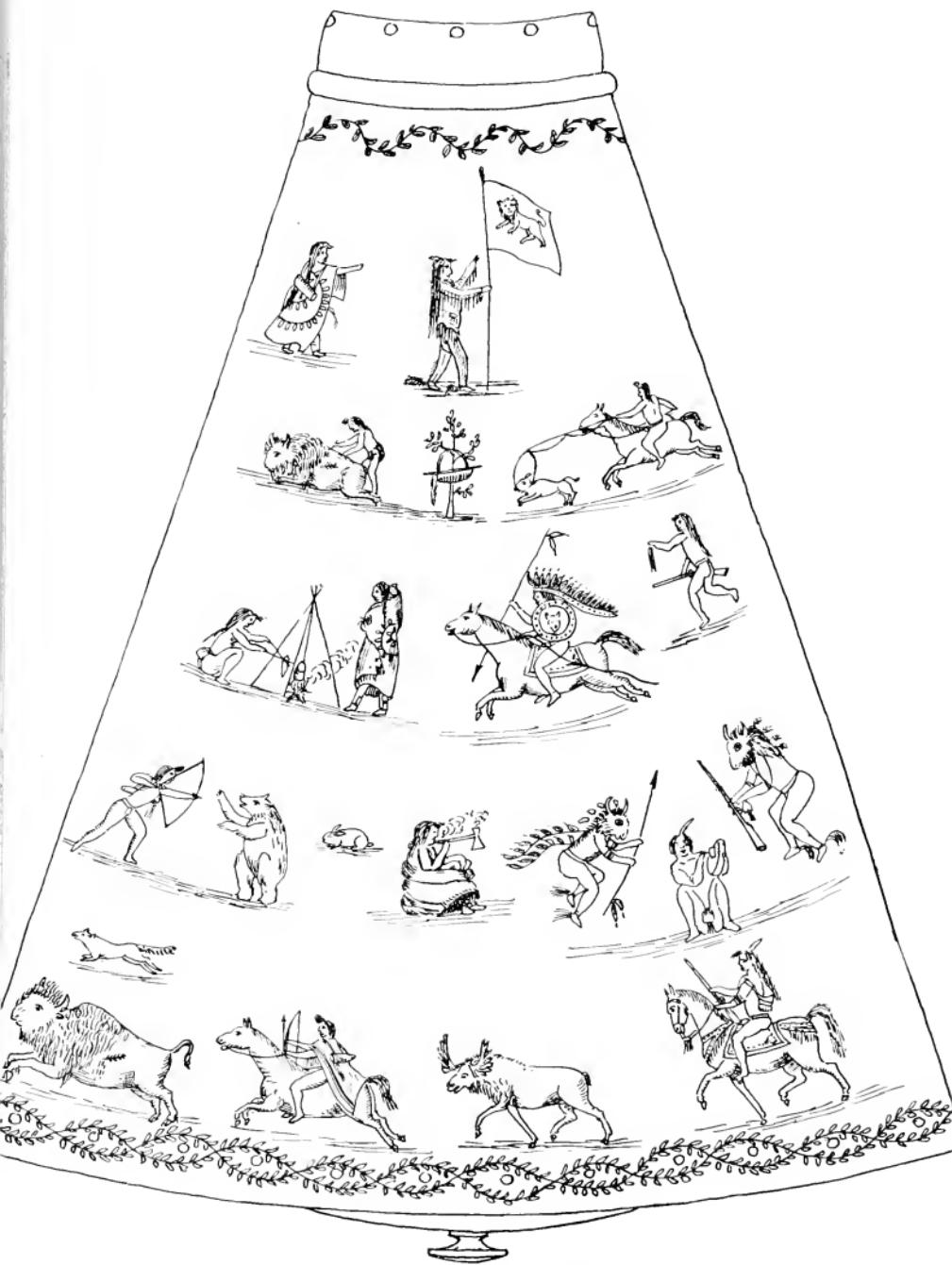
Mrs. Laura M. Doctor had many fine specimens and relics of old Indian days which had come down to her through her connection with several notable Indian families, the Parkers, the Mountpleasants and the Poudrays. A photograph of some of these specimens is shown in "The Life of General Ely S. Parker", a publication of the Buffalo Historical Society.

While there is no written data concerning the powder horn, the tradition is that it was given to John Blacksmith (or Red Jacket) about 1825, when Red Jacket's picture was painted by George Catlin at Niagara Falls. There is some mention of this occasion in Catlin's "North American Indians," Vol. 2, page 104. Red Jacket, who was then old, returned to the home of a relative where he left the powder horn and several other trinkets and articles of clothing. Some of these articles, including the celebrated "Washington medal" were acquired by the Parker family, and eventually passed into the hands of Gen. Ely S. Parker, a member of a prominent Seneca clan. A few of the articles were taken by him to New York, while others remained in his old home and upon his death reverted to his niece, Mrs. Laura M. Doctor. Mrs. Doctor requested the writer to dispose of most of the articles for her benefit, and this commission was carried out.

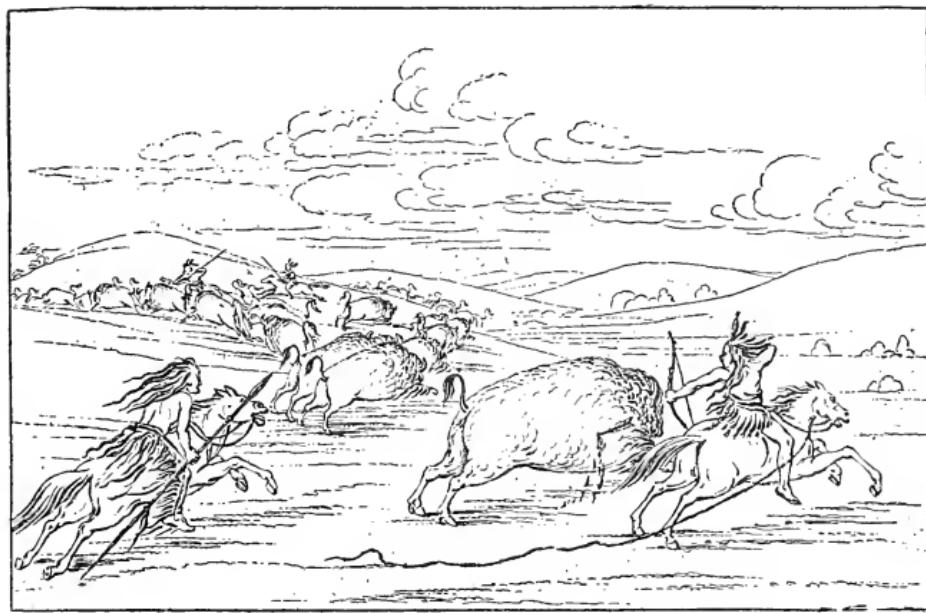
Whether the horn was engraved by Catlin or not, there is only the evidence of the object itself, but the figures are so similar in all respects to the work of this well known artist, and the tradition that Catlin made it so clear, that it may be accepted as plausible. It is called the Catlin powder horn.

The figures represent certain activities and objects, as follows; beginning at the upper left corner of the drawing:

1. A chief, pointing to a standard,
2. An Indian holding a standard or flag with the device of a lion,
3. An Indian skinning a buffalo,



Engravings on Catlin powder horn. (Drawn by William G. Ackerman).



Buffalo Chase. (Plate 108, vol. 1, p. 253, LETTERS AND NOTES, 1841). Inserted for comparison with drawings on powder horn.

4. The Indian's quiver and bow hung in a tree,
5. An Indian on horseback snaring a rabbit,
6. A camp fire, at which the hunter roasts the meat, and
7. The woman and baby stand by, looking on,
8. A horseman with spear and shield rushes forward, followed by
9. A warrior with a scalp,
10. A hunter is shooting,
11. A bear standing upright, back of which drowses
12. A hare,
13. A seated figure is smoking while watching,
14. A leaping Buffalo-head dancer, who circles about
15. The singer and drummer, whose rhythm is also imparted to
16. Another masked dancer with a buffalo head,
17. A fleeing coyote, seems to betoken the approach of hunters,
18. A wounded Buffalo reveals
19. The pursuing hunter, back of which comes
20. A moose, followed by
21. A hunter with a gun.

The pictographs seem to represent a general impression of hunting episodes and camp life on the prairies, and as their sequence is not as an Indian would arrange them, nor the sketches like the cruder technique of the plains people, the work must have been done by a white man, and undoubtedly by George Catlin.

A. C. PARKER, Director,
Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences.



Red Jacket (Sa-go-ye-wat-ha), Head Chief of the Senecas. Plate 205, vol. 2, p. 104,
LETTERS AND NOTES, 1841. Portrait painted at Niagara Falls at the
time the powder horn was given Red Jacket.

INDIAN-LOVING CATLIN.

BY MARION ANNETTE EVANS.

That biography is the most compelling, which can boast, between the encyclopedia dates of "Born-Died", a stiff, straight line of purpose held to in the face of upbringing, education, precedent, and family ties. When, by chance, romance and adventure run parallel with such a purpose, the "life" in question makes no dull reading.

Yet it is not only as an original and highly flavored "life", with scenes shifting from the tepee of a Rocky Mountain Indian to the salon of a King of France, that the 76 years of George Catlin primarily interest his townsfolk of another generation. It is as a contribution to the knowledge of the human race, to the science of anthropology, that they become three score and sixteen years of worth-while biography.

The secret of Catlin's success during his life, and for a century after, was simply this: that he did what no one else was doing at the time; that he did it well, and did nothing else—but paint Indians! Around that occupation has grown a biography that is one of the most picturesque bits in a picturesque period of our history, a source of gratitude to the historian and a delight to the layman.

George Catlin was born on July 26, 1796, in Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania, when Wyoming Valley was recovering from the horrors of the massacre and the Pennamite wars. Wilkes-Barré was 27 years old and had 250 inhabitants, living in 150 wooden houses. There was a jail, though no church, in the town, and a two-story log courthouse stood on the Public Square. "No bridge spanned the Susquehanna, but there was a public ferry at the foot of Northampton street, and several Inns furnishing 'entertainment for man and beast'." Easton was the nearest town, and could be reached on horse back only.

Of his birth, Catlin himself says he was "born in Wyoming, in North America!—of parents (Putnam and Polly



(From original water-color, owned by William H. Miner).

Sutton Catlin) who entered that beautiful and famed valley soon after the close of the Revolutionary War." Of his immediate forbears, it is known that his father, a lawyer and a man of means in the colonies was of a philosophical turn of mind, his mother "a woman of fine artistic taste." His maternal grandparents were pioneers who had survived the Wyoming Massacre, his grandmother and mother (aged seven), were among those taken prisoner by the British and Indians at the surrender of Forty Fort, his grandfather one of the famous few who swam the Susquehanna and returned alive. He writes: "The early part of my life was whiled away, apparently somewhat in vain, with books reluctantly held in one hand (in the Wilkes-Barré Academy, to which he was sent from New York State) and a rifle, or fishing-pole firmly and affectionately grasped in the other. At the urgent request of my father, who was a practising lawyer, I was prevailed upon to abandon these favorite themes, and also my occasional dabblings with the brush, which had secured already a corner in my affections; and I commenced reading the law for a profession, under the direction of Reeve and Gould", of Litchfield, Connecticut (founders of the first Law School in this country). "I attended the lectures of these learned judges for two years —was admitted to the bar—and practised the law as a sort of nimrold lawyer in my native land, for a term of two or three years."

Circumstances as well as natural inclination played a part in determining Catlin's life work. His introduction to the wilderness had taken place when he was one year old, and rode on horseback in front of his mother over forty miles of Indian trail when his family left Wilkes-Barré for Onaquagua Valley, New York State. "Trappers, hunters, Revolutionary soldiers, Indian fighters" all came to his father's house in Broome County. His overwhelming desire for an outdoor life rather than the indoor industry of the law was not

unnatural. As early as 1824 his interest in natural history was evident, but his intention of founding an ethnological and natural history museum was interrupted by the death of a younger brother who was to have collaborated with him.

It was about this time that Catlin found the lawyer's table, and even the judge's bench in the Wilkes-Barré Court House so covered with "sketches of judges, jurors and culprits," and his heart so little in his profession, that in 1823 he deliberately packed himself out of the law, and into the pursuit of painting by "converting his library into paint pots", and taking up his residence in Philadelphia, the art center of the day. Here, for five years, without teacher, or adviser, he established a reputation for portrait and particularly miniature painting, that "admitted him to the fellowship of Thomas Sully, Charles Wilson and Rembrandt Peale", and won him the place of Pennsylvania Academician in the Academy of Fine Arts, and portrait painter of Dolly Madison and Governor Clinton. It was while in Albany on this last commission that he met his future wife, Clara B. Gregory, whom he married in 1828. He was fast becoming a popular portrait painter of fashionable Philadelphia, and would no doubt have faded into comparative obscurity in a generation, had not chance fixed for him a "whole life-time of enthusiasm"—"A delegation of some ten or fifteen noble and dignified looking Indians, from the wilds of the 'Far West', suddenly arrived in the city, arrayed and equipped in all their classic beauty,—with shield and helmet,—with tunic and manteau,—tinted and tasselled off, exactly for the painter's palette!"

"In silent and stoic dignity, these lords of the forest strutted about the city for a few days, wrapped in their pictured robes, with their brows plumed with the quills of the war-eagle, attracting the gaze and admiration of all who beheld them."

At the departure of these representatives of a dying race,



George Catlin; aet. 28. (From a painting in oil by himself in 1824).

Catlin, after long and deep reflection, entered upon the great decision of his life—that “the history and customs of such a people, preserved by pictorial illustrations, are themes worthy the lifetime of one man, and nothing short of the loss of my life shall prevent me from visiting their country and becoming their historian. There was something inexpressibly delightful in the above resolve”, he writes of this experience, “which was to bring me amidst such living models for my brush.

“I had fully resolved—I opened my views to my friends and relations, but got not one advocate or abettor. I tried fairly and faithfully, but it was in vain, to reason with those whose anxieties were ready to fabricate every difficulty and danger that could be imagined, without being able to understand, or appreciate the extent or importance of my designs, and I broke from them all,—from my wife and my aged parents,—myself my only adviser and protector.”

Equally perturbed by the fate of the buffalo, he suggested to the government the establishing of a bison range as a National Park in the region of the Yellowstone, saying in 1832, “I would ask no other monument to my memory nor any other enrollment of my name among the famous dead than the reputation of having been the founder of such an institution.”

In 1832, Catlin began his adventure of “lending a hand to a dying nation who have no historians or biographers to portray their native looks and history, and snatching from a hasty oblivion what could be saved for the benefit of posterity”. This stiff, straight purpose extended in time over forty years of his life and carried him far from Wyoming Valley, often in advance of the “covered wagon”, through the wilds of North and even South America to England, France, and Belgium and back again to the unromantic locality of Jersey City where he died December 23, 1872.

For the first six years after his spectacular departure



The Author painting a Chief at the base of the Rocky Mountains.

G. Catlin

Catlin painting a Mandan Chief. (From frontispiece, LETTERS AND NOTES, 1841, vol. 1).

into the wilderness, he confined his researches to the North American Indian, visiting 48 tribes of the Redskins who were still living in their native haunts unspoiled by the white man's influence—Indians of the Yellowstone River, Indian territory, Arkansas, roaming over "Indian land" which then included part of "Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Alabama, Florida, land west of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains and in Oregon." During this time he accompanied Captain and Governor William Clark, Superintendent of Indian affairs under President Jackson, to the treaties held with the Winnebagoes, Menominees, Shewanos, Socs, Foxes and Konzas. He lived among some scattered four hundred thousand souls, still left undegraded "of the sixteen million who once said that number of daily prayers to the Great Spirit, and gave thanks for his goodness and protection.." During the last three years his wife was his indefatigable companion through prairie and forest, and her "journal of thirteen thousand miles of wild rambles" has no doubt contributed measurably to the interest of Catlin's published notes. It is interesting to think of them, dressed in the complicated fashion of the period, wandering in unbroken wilderness, with no "civilized" protection at their command, carrying freshly painted portraits in a tin box on Catlin's back, the dry paintings unstretched, rolled up in knapsacks. Picturesque, amazing.

At the end of six years of transporting canvas and brush over prairie and primeval forest, Catlin returned to New York with three hundred and ten portraits in oil, two hundred "genre" scenes, containing views of villages, dances, games, religious ceremonies, buffalo hunting, etc., and an extensive collection of costumes and implements, from wigwam to quill and rattle. These formed "Catlin's North American Indian Gallery," which he exhibited in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Boston, etc., adding to the collection some work done among the Florida Indians in 1838.

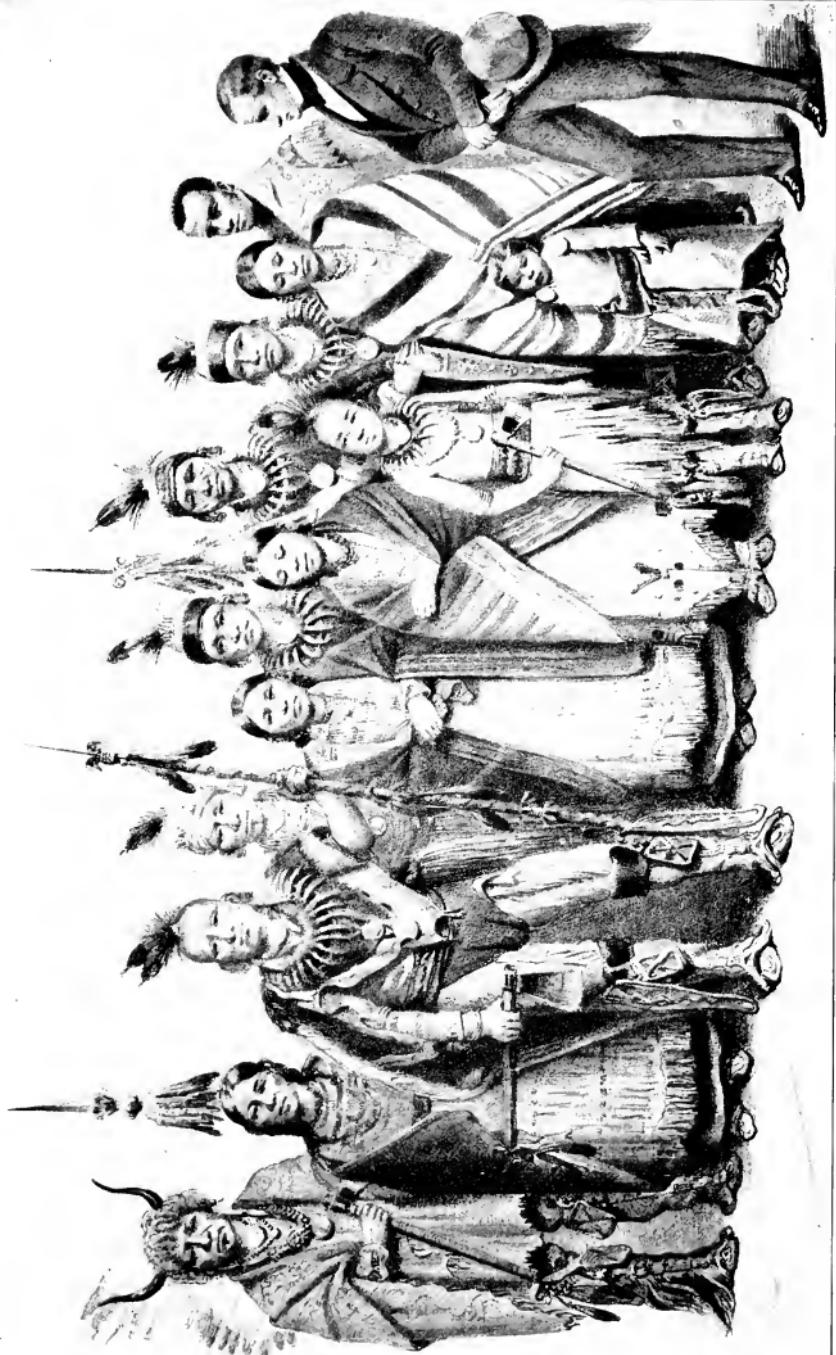
This collection, reproduced later in England in line drawing, with copious notes, and letters written to the "New York Commercial Advertiser," by the author during his travels, make up the two invaluable volumes compiled as "*Letters and Notes of the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians.*"

Catlin's "savages" more than met his expectations. During all this time he received only the greatest hospitality, had nothing stolen from him, and met with no physical maltreatment, although he was often distrusted by the chiefs who did not like to see themselves "made alive with paints". He was their great friend, the first white man ever admitted to the famous Pipestone quarry where for "untold generations the red man had found material for his sacred calumets." The stone has long been known as "Catlinite".*

In 1839 his achievement received international recognition. He was invited to journey to London to lecture about his Indian friends and their customs, and exhibit his paintings. In the fall of this year "he sailed from New York with 600 portraits and paintings, several thousand specimens of Indian costumes, weapons, etc., and two grizzly bears in a large iron cage."

In 1840 the Indian Gallery was opened in Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London, and was visited by leading social and literary lights. Catlin and his wife, who had joined him in London with their two young children, were much sought after by the bell-hatted, poke-bonneted society of the day,

*The Minnesota Legislature of 1925 established a State park at the famous Pipestone quarry where for untold generations the red men had found material for their sacred calumets. The stone, which has the peculiarity of cutting easily from the quarry and then hardening by exposure, has long been known as "Catlinite," because the Indian artist George Catlin was supposed to have been the first white man ever admitted to the sacred precincts of the quarry. Many of the sacred Indian pipes in historical museums are made of the stone from this Minnesota deposit. Wisconsin Magazine of History, v. 9, p. 236-37.



A group of Iowa Indians in London with their official conductor, G. H. C. Melody and interpreter Jeffrey Doraway, after a rare engraving from a picture by Catlin made in London when these Indians were under his supervision there. A typical Catlin picture.

were entertained in the houses of the nobility, and Catlin was requested to lecture before distinguished scientific societies, among them the Royal Institution of Great Britain.

In 1843 he closed the London exhibition and took it to Liverpool, being quite worn out by his endeavors, the main difficulty being the need of answering questions. His curator had threatened previously to print the answers to the hundred most often recurring and stupid queries, to save their throats; such as, "The Indians have *no beards at all*". "Mr. Catlin is *not* an Indian". "You can't come *overland* from America". "The Americans are *white* like the English, and speak the same language, only they speak it better in general". "Reason? Yes, why do you think they are wild beasts? To be sure they reason as well as we do". "They sometimes eat a great deal, but generally not so much as white people". "They all have their religion, they all worship the great spirit", etc.

The gallery then went on tour through England and Scotland. While in Manchester, the first of the bands of Indians which Mr. Catlin was to meet abroad came across his path. It was the custom at that time for Americans to bring parties of a dozen or more Indians to Europe for "show" purposes, to raise funds for the manager and incidently the Indians. It was this renewed contact with living Indians which influenced Catlin from this time on to take copious notes on his European travels, in order to note the effect "of civilized life on their untutored minds". These notes grew into two more Indian volumes called Catlin's "*Notes on Eight Years Travel and Residence in Europe with his North American Indian Collection, with Anecdotes and Incidents of the Travels and Adventures of Three Different Parties of Indians Whom he Introduced to the Courts of England, France and Belgium*". To these books we owe the delightful knowledge of these fascinating years of his life.

This first party of Redskins was attached to his Gallery

and put under his guidance, in return for the "hospitality and kindness I have received in the wildernesses of America". These Indians advanced upon the Gallery at their first visit as though it were alive, trying to shake hands with friends they recognized among the portraits, and falling upon enemies with whoops and yells. About this time Catlin and the nine Ojibbeways presented themselves for a command performance at Windsor Castle for the delectation of Queen Victoria. Later, their arch enemies the Ioways, were invited to breakfast with Mr. Disraeli; but whether Ojibbeway or Ioway they were regally entertained everywhere and were conducted on sightseeing tours that filled them with amazement and concern. From the slant of lives so free from "civilized" complications, they could not understand the "so vast many poor people" that filled the foreign capitals, or the system then in practice of imprisonment for debt. "How can he pay back the money then, if they shut him up" they asked reasonably, and at the Zoo their hearts went out to the "poor prisoner buffalo". The need of sending greeting to England's Chief was greatly on their minds, and on one occasion the Indian leader, in the presence of an official, drew from his shirt a shining medal of the former King of England, saying, "Tell your Great Father that you have seen him, and that we keep his face bright". When he was informed that the Great Father was now a lady named Victoria, he withdrew in confusion to smoke a pipe of tobacco in council and arrange a way to get the message through. He returned at last saying, "Tell your Great Mother that you have seen your Great Father and that we keep his face bright".

When the Ojibbeways left London, Catlin withdrew from the gallery for three months to prepare for publication a portfolio of twenty-five large tinted drawings, called "*Hunting Scenes and Amusements of the North American Indians.*" to which many of the crowned heads of Europe subscribed. At the completion of this, a band of Indians from Iowa ap-



George Catlin: aet. 45. (After a miniature by Watkins, London, 1841).

peared at Liverpool, and were attached to the Catlin outfit, and in 1845, accompanied by his wife and four children, the Indians and eight tons of exhibits, he journeyed to Paris and established himself in the Salle Valentino, near the Louvre. Shortly afterwards His Majesty, King Louis-Philippe, commanded his presence with the Ioway Indians at the Tuilleries. His Majesty and much of the royal connection awaited the Indian braves in the reception hall under the great chandelier, where, "with buffalo robes wrapped around them, and decorated with wampum and medals, necklaces of grizzly bears' claws, bows and quivers, tomahawks, etc., the Indians were announced by a half dozen huge porters in flaming scarlet liveries and powdered wigs." After some conversation on both sides, the chief presented the King "with a beautiful blue pipe, his braves performed some interesting dances," and were "regaled with an abundance of rich refreshments including 'first rate' champagne".

In Paris, the same success followed that had greeted the British exhibition. The exhibit had to run matinées, and the patrons included Victor Hugo and George Sand. In the midst of these activities the wife of the Ioway chief, "Little Wolf", died. Poignantly enough, this Indian squaw was buried from the Church of the Madeleine, and interred in Montmartre Cemetery. After this tragedy the Indians decided to return to America, and shortly after their departure Mrs. Catlin died very suddenly in Paris, leaving three daughters and a little son. As the Indian collection was still open, and the lease not yet expired, Catlin "in the midst of his grief" decided to remain in Paris. At this time eleven Canadian Indians appeared and were persuaded to join the gallery.

The interest of Louis-Philippe in things American, and Indian in particular, was at high pitch, and while in Paris, Catlin was invited to the royal breakfast table at the palace of St. Cloud, at which time the King discussed his early

travels in America, mentioning his journey by canoe to a small town called Wilkes-Barré in the Valley of Wyoming. "I here surprised his Majesty" writes Catlin in his detailed description of this banquet at which sat two Kings and two Queens "by informing him that I was a native of Wilkes-Barré and that while his Majesty was there I was an infant in my mother's arms". Catlin was commissioned by the King to paint fifteen pictures for the palace at Versailles, his exhibit having been moved to the Salle de Séance in the Louvre, where Louis-Philippe was a delighted visitor. An expedition to Brussels with the gallery was broken up by a smallpox epidemic among the Indians and Catlin returned poorer by over a thousand dollars.

Shortly after this, the death of his much loved little son, his "Tambour Major", caused such a distaste for Paris in his mind, that he returned to London with his three little daughters and his collections. Two years later, in 1852, urged by Alexander von Humboldt, his friend and scientific advisor, he succumbed to the lure of his former wanderings, and set out for the Far West, Central and South America. Since he was deprived of Mrs. Catlin's companionship, he did not undertake this journey entirely alone, but was accompanied by a faithful black, named Caesar Bolla, who carried his heavier equipment and formed an impressive body guard.

The account of these five lucrative years is published in "*Last Rambles Amongst the Indians of the Rocky Mountains and the Andes*". In 1860 he returned to Europe, exhibiting these further researches and writing accounts of his last adventure, returning to the United States the year before his death. This last volume gives, on a smaller scale than his previous work, a pictorial and verbal record of the Indian of Central and South America. This journey had only emphasized in his mind the value of the work he had undertaken



Catlin as he appeared in London Circa, 1845 (From a woodcut by W. J. Linton,
in NOTES OF EIGHT YEARS' TRAVELS, ETC., 1848).

"He was about five feet, eight inches tall, sturdy, one of the most graceful specimens of humanity one ever encountered. He was of a fine, healthy bronze, well proportioned, while in every gesture he was graceful."

Mayne Reid, 1851.

and the plight of the red man where contact with the white man had robbed him of his dignity and his entity.

"Art may mourn when these people are swept from the earth", he says sadly in the conclusion of his last volume. What one man could do to alleviate such a condition, Catlin did superlatively. A study of the line illustrations of the books, and the large original paintings now preserved in the National Museum at Washington, and the American Museum of Natural History in New York gives immediate proof that he accomplished his purpose of preserving a record of the American Indian that is unsurpassed in accuracy, scope, and detail.

Of the work itself, considered from the point of view of its place in the field of art, Catlin himself begged us to remember that "every painting has been made from nature, and that too, when I have been paddling my canoe, or leading my pack horse over and through tractless wilds. The world will surely be kind and indulgent enough to receive and estimate them as they have been intended, as true and facsimile traces of individual life and historical fact, and forgive me for their present unfinished and unstudied condition as works of art".

Nevertheless, aside from recording for science, for all time, the Indian "in his genuine native trappings", Catlin has contributed something to American art by the very "primitive" quality of his work. It is a lucky thing, according to Edwin Balch, that he was never taught to draw academically, in the grandiose style of the day, and, as the French Press said of him in 1848, "without the European convention". For this reason, his accuracy is never interfered with by a striving for effect.

To quote briefly from Edwin Swift Balch, whose "Art of George Catlin" was read before the American Philosophical Society in 1918.

"Almost all of the pictures are about nineteen by twenty-five inches in size, lengthwise, often oval. The paper is light,

grayish brown, the register is usually middle, bright colors are used sparingly and only in accents. The paint is laid on thin and smooth, almost like tinted drawing, rather than painting. Catlin made every speck of paint go as far as possible in the wilderness.

"Detail is perfectly carried out; perspective is good; sense of proportion is splendid; light and shade are well managed. His dramatic instinct shows in his ability to place a scene on a canvas in such a way as to make a picture of it. He can create an appearance of a crowd, a multitude of animated beings, Indians or bison, as few painters have done; his only error being the open-scissor action of his galloping animals, which no white man discovered was wrong until instantaneous photography obliterated it from art. Everywhere there is a sincere rendering of what he saw, a faithful rendition of the form and colors of nature."

By and large, Catlin's work, as art, is of great value for its originality and freedom from tradition, its very naivety being its strength. The method is always distinctly *Catlin*.

* * *

In commenting on the exhibition in London in 1848 the *Morning Post* has to say of Mr. Catlin that he has a share of unconquerable perseverance such as falls to few artists in any country. *The Spectator* announces that his Indian Gallery will give a more lively and distinct idea of the Aborigines of North America than a whole course of reading. *The New York World* writes that Catlin has perpetuated the portraits of a nation.

In his own words he has given his good friends, the Indians, to the world in their native simplicity and dignity, not as the white man knows them—"their plumage despoiled, harassed, chased—a basket of *dead game*". The stiff, straight purpose of Catlin's life was supremely successful. The scenes he knew have disappeared from the earth, but he has left a record "unique and imperishable for the benefit of future



Portrait of George Catlin (1796-1878), by William H. Fiske in 1840. Lent to the U. S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., by Mrs. Louise Catlin Kinney, in 1904. (3 $\frac{1}{4}$ length, oil on canvas.)

ages." *Indian-loving Catlin* may have seemed to his generation "to have spoken too well of the Indians", yet if this generation would learn about Indians it must gratefully, humbly and a little shamefacedly "turn to Catlin."

Biographical and critical data taken from the following:

Balch, E. S.: Art of George Catlin.

Catlin, George: Letters and notes on the manners, customs and condition of the North American Indians.

—Notes of eight years travel and residence in Europe.

—Descriptive catalogue of Catlin's Indian Collection. London.

Catlin, C. B. G.: Rambles in South America.

Godcharles, F. A.: Daily stories of Pennsylvania.

Harvey, O. J.: Royalty in the Wyoming Valley. Proceedings and Collections of Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, volume 16.

Humphreys, M. G., Ed.: The Boy's Catlin.

Lamb's Biographical dictionary of the United States, vol. 1, p. 595.

Miner, W. H.: George Catlin—a Memoir and a Bibliography. From The Literary Collector. 1901.

ANCESTRY OF GEORGE CATLIN.

- Catlin, Thomas of Hartford, m. 1646; d. 1662?
- Catlin, John of Thos. of Hartford; b. 1647; m. Mary Marshall, July 27, 1665.
- Catlin, Samuel of John from Hartford; b. Nov. 4, 1673; m. Elizabeth Norton of Farmington, Jan. 5, 1702/3; d. Aug. 4, 1724.
- Catlin, John of Samuel, b. Oct. 20, 1703; d. about 1768 ae. 65; m. Margaret (Seymour) Gross, Aug. 25, 1731.
- Catlin, Eli, son of John, b. Jan. 22, 1733/4; m. Elizabeth Ely.
- Catlin, Putnam, son of Eli (Susquehanna Co., Pa.); b. Nov. 8, 1764; m. Polly Sutton, 1789.
- Catlin, George (the artist), son of Putnam, and the fifth of fourteen children. Born July 26, 1796; died December 23, 1872.

From Genealogical Register of the Inhabitants of the Town of Litchfield, Conn., by George C. Woodruff. 1845, and Biography and Ancestry of Hon. George Henry Catlin, Scranton, Pennsylvania, by S. Fletcher Weyburn, 1930.



Tomb of Mrs. George Catlin in Greenwood Cemetery. (Taken from the illustration in Greenwood, a directory for visitors, by N. Cleveland. New York, 1849. A similar plate appears in the edition of 1852 but the name is misspelled Catline.)



George Catlin: aet. 72. (From a photograph taken in
Brussels, 1868.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CATLIN'S WORKS.

BY WILLIAM HARVEY MINER.

1838

CATALOGUE/ OF/ PORTRAITS, LANDSCAPES,/ MANNERS AND CUSTOMS,/ COSTUMES, etc./ collected during seven years' travel amongst thirty-eight different tribes, speaking different languages.*****/ New York:/ *Piercy & Reed*, Printers, 7 Theatre Alley,/ 1838./

Sm 12 mo., sewn, 38 p.

This is the true basic and absolutely first form of Catlin's catalogue on which all of his later ones were designed. It is not generally known that there was a second issue of the same year identical in every way except that it contained 40 instead of 36 pages. Catlin used this catalogue in New York and in Boston when he had his exhibition in Faneuil Hall in September, 1838. The second issue of this catalogue is exceedingly scarce.

1841

LETTERS AND NOTES/ ON THE/ MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND CONDITION/ OF THE/ NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS/ By Geo. Catlin./ Written during eight years' travel amongst the wildest tribes of/ Indians in North America,/ in 1832, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39./ In two volumes,/ with four hundred illustrations from the author's original paintings: Published for the author by/ *David Bogue*, Fleet Street,/ 1841./

Volume I, front., 1 leaf, printer's imprint on verso; contents, iii-viii; text, p. 1-264.

Volume II, iii-viii, text, p. 1-256; Appendices, 257-66, royal octavo.

In this true first issue of the first edition the figures only are numbered, not the plates. Such numbers as are omitted were never issued and not found in any edition. This describes the genuine first edition of Catlin's most important book. It was printed at the author's expense. At least ten editions were done in London during his lifetime. A good

set of the first edition fetches about \$25.00 to-day. The most desirable edition from the collector's standpoint is the tenth published by Henry G. Bohn in 1866 with the plates brilliantly coloured. Field in his Indian Bibliography says on doubtful authority that only twelve sets were so done. This edition when found readily brings \$100.00.

1841

A/ DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE/ OF/ CATLIN'S INDIAN GALLERY;/ Containing/ Portraits, Landscapes, Costumes, etc./ and/ Representations of the manners and customs/ of the/ North American Indians./ Collected and painted entirely by Mr. Catlin,/ during seven years' travel amongst 48 tribes, mostly speaking different languages/******/ Now exhibiting in The Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London./ Octavo. 48 p.

This is the original catalogue of the first London exhibition. Though no date appears on the title page, it is 1841. It was printed by C. & J. Adlard in Bartholomew Close. The last page of this catalogue specifically mentions the nine Ojibbeway Indians giving the name of each one. My own copy has a note in Catlin's hand to the effect that the exhibit "will continue 'til March 20th."

1841

LETTERS AND NOTES/ ON THE/ MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CONDITION/ OF THE/ NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS/ By Geo. Catlin./ Written during eight years' travel amongst the wildest tribes of/ Indians in North America./ In 1832, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39,/ in two volumes/ With four hundred illustrations, carefully engraved from his original paintings/ New York:/ Wiley and Putnam, 161 Broadway/ 1841.

Volume I, p. i-viii, 1-264, slip of errata.

Volume II, p. i-viii, 1-266.

Plates and maps, royal octavo.

This is the first American edition. Sabin points out that some copies have the imprint, London, Wiley and Putnam. A

second and third edition were done in New York in 1842 and a fourth in 1843. Pilling records an edition in 1844 but I have never seen it, although there was a fourth London in this year. See also, the Philadelphia edition of 1860 *passim*.

1841

ILLUSTRATIONS/ OF THE/ MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CONDITION/ OF THE/ NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS:/ In a series of Letters and Notes/ written during eight years of travel and adventures among the/ wildest and most remarkable tribes now existing./ With three hundred and sixty engravings./ From the author's original paintings./ By Geo. Catlin./ In two volumes. London:/ *Henry G. Bohn*, York Street, Covent Garden/ 1841.

Volume I, p. i-viii, 1-214.

Volume II, p. i-vii, 1-266.

Maps and plates, royal octavo.

This is the second issue of Catlin's first work with changed title-page and rearrangement of the pagination.

1842

CATALOGUE/ OF THE/ SECOND/ EXHIBITION/ OF OBJECTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE/ FINE ARTS, NATURAL HISTORY,/ PHILOSOPHY,/ MACHINERY, MANUFACTURES,/ ANTIQUITIES, etc./ (small design)./ Liverpool:/ Printed by *D. Marples*, Ford Street./ 1842.

Octavo, unbound.

Section 20 of this catalogue refers to Mr. Catlin's room, comprising the Indian Gallery and Museum, which contained portraits of Chiefs and others; also various articles of costume and domestic economy and weapons of war; a Wigwam or Indian dwelling, numerous landscapes, etc.; also a perfect model of the Falls of Niagara. An address or description of the collection by Catlin is included on page 101. This is exceedingly scarce. I have never seen another copy.

1844

CATLIN'S/ NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN PORTFOLIO./ Hunting
Scenes and Amusements of the Rocky Mountains/ and
Prairies of America./ from drawings of the wildest and
most remote tribes of savages in North America./ Lon-
don/ 1844/ Published by subscription/ By/ Geo. Catlin/
Egyptian Hall/.

Atlas folio, 8 printed pages, 25 plates (18 x 25 inches).

The original edition of this work consisted of 25 plates with 8 pages of letter press descriptive of the plates as shown. Later during the same year the whole work was reissued with 6 additional plates or 31 in all. No text was included in this second printing. Each issue was made in two ways. The printed tints at five guineas and the printed tints coloured at eight guineas. The art work throughout was done at the Lithographic Press of Day & Haghe and included those pictures most admired in The Indian Gallery then being exhibited at The Egyptian Hall. The correct size of each sheet is 18 x 25 inches. It is unquestionably Catlin's greatest art work and for purpose of proper collation I am appending a list of the plates with the numbers which are not in sequence in the folio.

- (1) North American Indians; (2) Buffalo Bull; (3) Wild Horses; (4) Catching the Wild Horses; (5) Buffalo Hunt; (6) Buffalo Hunt; (7) Buffalo Dance; (8) Buffalo Hunt; (9) Wolves Attacking Buffalo; (10) Buffalo Hunt; (11) Buffalo Hunt; (12) Buffalo Hunt; (13) Buffalo Hunt; (14) Snow Shoe Dance; (15) Buffalo Hunt; (16) Wounded Buffalo; (17) Dying Buffalo; (18) Bear Dance; (19) Attacking the Grizzly Bear; (20) Antelope Shooting; (21) Ball Players; (22) Ball Play Dance; (23) Ball Play; (24) Archery of the Mandans; (25) Wi-jun-jon; (26) Joc-o-Sot; (27) Scalp Dance; (28) Mah-To-Toh-Pa; (29) War Dance; (30) Buffalo Hunting; (31) Ojibbeways.

Numbers 26 to 31 inclusive are the added plates.

It is interesting to note that plate No. 10, The Buffalo Hunt, is occasionally to be found reprinted in this country by Currier & Ives. But its rarity makes it a most sought for example and when found it commands very high prices. A

set of the Portfolio in good condition either the 25 or 31 plates with the hand colouring brings at this time from \$250.00 to \$300.00 in good condition. The original binding was of a dark coloured three-quarter roan, with cloth or board sides.

See the following item (1845) for the rare American edition, not so well executed but bringing more money on account of its scarcity.

1844

FOURTEEN/ IOWAY INDIANS./ Key/ to their various Dances, Games, Ceremonies, Songs,/ Religion, Superstitions, Costumes, Weapons, etc., etc.,/ By Geo. Catlin./ W. S. Johnson, "Nassau Steam Press", Nassau Street/ Soho.

The above is merely a four page circular, or dodger evidently given out at the door of the Exhibition rooms: The verso of the cover is blank, the inside refers to the Notes of Travel, etc., stating that it was originally published at two pounds ten shillings and that it is at this time (1844) reduced to one pound ten shillings. On the front cover is an illustration of an Ioway chief, evidently drawn after Catlin but poorly executed. The full title of the Ioway Indian pamphlet follows.

1844

UNPARALLELED EXHIBITION/ THE/ FOURTEEN/ IOWAY INDIANS/ AND THEIR/ INTERPRETER/ just arrived from the upper Missouri, near/ the Rocky Mountains, North America/ "White Cloud"/, the head chief of the tribe, is with this interesting party, giving them that peculiar interest, which/ no other party of American Indians have had in a/ foreign country; and they are under the immediate/ charge of/ G. H. C. Melody, who accompanied them from their country,/ with their favorite interpreter,/ Jeffrey Doraway./ Price six-pence. London:/ W. S. Johnson, "Nassau Steam Press", Nassau Street/ MDCCXLIV (1844).

16mo, 28p.

1845

CATLIN'S NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN PORTFOLIO:/ Hunting
 Scenes and Amusements/ (of the Rocky Mountains and
 Prairies of America),/ From Drawings and notes of the
 author/ Made during eight years' travel amongst 48 of
 the wildest and most remote tribes of savages of North
 America./ New York.:/ *James Ackerman*, 304 Broad-
 way, cor. Duane street,/ 1845.

25 col. plates, Atlas folio, 8 p. text.

This is the excessively rare American edition done only a few months after the London printing. The publisher (Ackerman) made the plea that good color work could be done here as well as abroad and in this work fully justified his claim. The additional six plates were not included in this issue.

1845

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ/ DE/ LA GALERIE INDIENNE DE MR
 CATLIN,/ renfermant/ des portraits,/ des paysages, des
 costumes, etc.,/ et/ des scènes de moeurs et coutumes/
 des/ Indiens de l'Amerique du Nord./ ******/ collection
 entierement faite et peinte par Mr. Catlin/ pendant un
 séjour de 8 ans parmi 48 tribus sauvages./ ******/
 Prix: 50 centimes./ imprimerie de *Wittersheim*,/
 Rue Montmorency, 8./ 1845.

Octavo, light blue wrappers, 47 p.

Seldom found with the wrappers intact, as the fourth cover has a drawing by Catlin of an Indian man and woman and the only catalogue issued by Catlin that contained any feature of this kind and it seems to have been generally sought for on account of the illustration. It appears quite frequently with this portion of the cover lacking.

1848

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE/ OF / CATLIN'S INDIAN COLLEC-
 TION,/ containing/ portraits, landscapes, costumes, etc.,/
 and/ representations of the manners and customs/ of the/

North American Indians./ collected and painted entirely by Mr. Catlin, during eight years' travel amongst/ forty-eight tribes mostly speaking different languages./*****/ also/ opinions of the press in England, France, and the United States,/ *****/ London:/ published by the author,/ at his Indian collection, No. 6, Waterloo Place,/ *****/ 1848.

Octavo, 88 p., sewn.

This is the standard catalogue used by Catlin both in England and on the continent.

I possess three copies of this: one presented by Catlin to Hon. John G. Palfrey with his compliments; one given to The Royal Linnean (*sic*) Society; and one belonging formerly to Henry R. Schoolcraft with his autograph on first page.

1848

CATLIN'S NOTES/ OF/ EIGHT YEARS' TRAVELS AND RESIDENCE; IN EUROPE,/ WITH HIS NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN COLLECTION:/ with anecdotes and incidents of the travels and adventures of three/ different parties of American Indians whom he introduced/ to the courts of/ England, France and Belgium./ In two volumes, octavo./ with numerous illustrations./ New York:/ *Burgess, Stringer & Co.*, 22 Broadway./ 1848.

Octavo, Volume I, 253 p., Volume II, 277 p.

This is the first issue of this work. Published in London in the same year and in four separate editions. Also published in 1852 under a different title with practically the same content as Adventures, etc., q. v.

1848

CATLIN'S NOTES/ OF/ EIGHT YEARS' TRAVELS AND RESIDENCE/ IN EUROPE,/ WITH HIS NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN COLLECTION./ with/ anecdotes and incidents of the travels and adventures of/ three different parties of American Indians whom he/ introduced to the courts of/ Eng-

land, France, and Belgium./ in two volumes, octavo./ vol. I./ (vol. II.) with numerous illustrations./ London:/ Published by the author,/ at his Indian Collection, No. 6, Waterloo Place./ *****/ 1848.

Octavo, Volume I. 296 p., Volume II. 325 p. and appendices A. and B. Printed in London by *William Clowes and Sons*.

Original binding was cloth with designs in blind tool except on front cover of each volume where the design in gold is of the author and an Indian chief shaking hands. The binding of the editions was done by Bone & Son, 16 Fleet street, London.

There are twenty-four plates in outline through the two volumes, numbered consecutively, including a portrait in woodcut by W. J. Linton of George Catlin.

1848

DIE INDIANER NORD-AMERIKAS/ und die während eines achtjährigen Aufenthalts unter den wildesten Stämmen/ erlebten Abenteuer/ und Schicksäle von/ G. Catlin/ nach der fünften englischen Ausgabe/ deutsch herausgegeben von Dr. H. Berghaus/ Brussel und Leipzig/ 1848./

Royal octavo, 10 preliminary p., 382 p. text, 24 fine coloured plates.

Second edition (without change), Brussel, Muquardt, 1851.

This original German edition has notes by the translator and is considered by some to be the finest of all the colored plate issues.

A new edition of this book was issued in Berlin in 1924 with a foreword by Adolph Sommerfeld, dated October of that year. The title page is practically the same and the number of plates in color also identical, though very inferior in quality.

A copy of the original, mentioned above, sold in New York in March, 1927, for \$37.50. My own copy of this book was in the original loose boards with ties to hold the plates in place. This was at the time a not uncommon method of

making German books, the idea being to rebind according to the manner desired as later and even today is in vogue in France.

1848

CATLIN'S/ NOTES/ FOR THE/ EMIGRANT TO AMERICA./
London:/ Published by the Author, at his Indian collection, 6, Waterloo/ Place, Pall Mall: and to be had of all booksellers,/ *****/ 1848.

Octavo, 15 p.

On verso of title is printer's name, *G. Smallfield*, Mercury office Leicester, and the printer's name appears again at bottom of page 15.

Signed with the date by Catlin from No. 6 Waterloo Place. He states that he is about to leave for the U. S. western borders and solicits correspondence with contemplating emigrants. The work deals with (1) General Notes, (2) Routes, (3) Routes from New York City to the Far West, (4) Where to go, (5) Public Lands, (6) Public Schools, (7) Titles to Lands, (8) Naturalization and Elective Franchise, (9) Protection to Emigrants, (10) Texas, (11) Flower of the Texas Prairies. This is a very rare item. I have never seen a copy for sale. My data and collation are from the one in the British Museum which I have examined most carefully. Not in Raines Bibliography of Texas.

1852

NOBLE DEEDS/ AND/ BRILLIANT EXPLOITS/ OF/ HEROES OF ALL AGES AND NATIONS./ selected as/ examples for the emulation of youth./ *****/ With numerous illustrations,/ *****/ Philadelphia:/ *Willis P. Hazard*, 178, Chestnut Street./ 1852.

Octavo, 252 p.

Page 122 reproduces from Illustrations and Manners the plate showing "Mr. Catlin painting the portraits of the Indian Chiefs," pages 123-26 contain a sketch of the life of Catlin which is, as far as I can ascertain, the first printed account of the man and his work by anyone aside from him-

self as given in the foreword of his various books. The book has no literary value and is important only because of the above features.

1852

ADVENTURES/ OF THE/ OJIBBEWAY AND IOWAY INDIANS/ IN/ ENGLAND, FRANCE AND BELGIUM:/ being notes of eight/ years travel and residence in Europe/ with his North American Indian collection,/ By Geo. Catlin./ in two volumes./ Vol.I./ (Vol. II.) with numerous engravings./ Third edition./ London:/ Published by the author at his Indian collection, No. 6, Waterloo Place./ 1852.

This is the same as Notes of Eight Years' Travels, etc., first published in 1848.

1860

LETTERS AND NOTES/ ON THE/ MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CONDITION/ OF THE/ NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS,/ written during eight years' travel amongst the wildest/ tribes of Indians in North America,/ vignette of Indian holding spear/ By Geo. Catlin./ two volumes in one/ With one hundred and fifty illustrations on steel and wood./ Philadelphia:/ *J. W. Bradley*, 48, North Fourth Street/ 1860.

792 pages which include Appendix labelled C.

This issue should contain sixteen pages of publisher's advertisements at the end of the text.

The majority of the illustrations are poor imitations of Catlin's work and none of the steel plates are after Catlin but for the most part copied from the work of Karl Bodmer.

1860

STEAM RAFT./ *****/ suggested as a means of security to human/ life upon the ocean./ *****/ By/ Geo. Catlin,/ author of "Notes of Travels amongst the North American Indians,"/ etc., etc., *****/ Manchester:/ Printed and published by *George Falkner*, King Street./ 1860.

Octavo, 16 p., 2 folded printed diagrams of the raft.
Printers' advertisement at bottom of last page.

The introductory remarks, pages 3-4, are by Joseph Adshead of Manchester who also stood for the expense of printing. The work is signed by Geo. Catlin, Rio Grande, Brazil, November 12, 1859. It is the scarcest and rarest of all Catlin items. A copy was offered in London in February of the present year (1929) for \$50.00.

This shows the wonderful advance in prices within the last decade. A copy was offered to me in March, 1913, by Henry Gray (since deceased) of London for 2/6. I might add that the last figure is nearer to the actual value of the booklet. It is more a curiosity than otherwise, the literary and scientific value being nil.

1861

LIFE/ AMONGST/ THE INDIANS./ (drawing of medicine man)/ By George Catlin,/ author of Notes of Travels amongst the North American Indians etc., etc.,/ London: Sampson Low, Son & Co., 47 Ludgate Hill./ 1861./ (The right of translation is reserved).

12mo, 360 p., front., 12 plates printed on tint blocks.

The first edition of this book is in dark green cloth with design in gold on front cover and backbone. The title is in gold on back only. There are 16 pages of Sampson Low advertisements at the end of the text dated Oct., 1861. It was reissued at various times without change of text but can be determined as to time by the dates of the advertisements. The original published price was five shillings.

It was reprinted in this country by Appleton in 1867, with 339 pages following the later English editions as to number of pages.

1863

LA VIE/ CHEZ LES INDIENS/ scenes et aventures de voyage/ parmi les tribus/ des deux Ameriques/ ouvrage écrit pour la jeunesse/ par G. Catlin/ traduit et annoté/ par F. de Lanoye/ Et illustré de 25 gravures sur bois/ *****/ Paris/ Librairie de L. Hachette et cic/ Boulevard Saint-Germain, No. 77/ *****/ 1863/ Droit de traduction réservé.

12mo, 379 p., appendices a, b, c, d, and index 2 p.

This first edition was printed by *Ch. Lahure et cie* and bound in flexible red cloth with gold design on front cover, title on backbone and also on front cover, within scroll, all edges are gilt. There is a short sketch of Catlin occupying two pages by the translator Ferdinand de Lanoye. Has five lines of errata on page 392. There are 24 woodcuts through the text.

I have seen a reference to a second edition, Paris 1866 in 18mo, said to contain 396 pages. Sabin notes this but I have never had it.

1864

THE/ BREATH OF LIFE/ *****/ OR/ MAL-RESPIRATION./
and its/ effects upon the enjoyments & life of man./
*****/ By Geo. Catlin./ Author of "Notes of Travel
amongst the North Amer. Indians."/ etc., etc., etc.,/
*****/ John Wiley, New York,/ 1864.

Also published under title: Shut your Mouth. By George Catlin. With 26 illustrations from drawings by the author.

London, *N. Trübner & Co.*, 1869. (All rights reserved).
12mo, 92 p.

A treatise on respiration, with precepts derived from the practice and habits of the Indians.

Octavo, printed board covers, 76 p., Appendix 1 p.

The preface of three lines is on the verso of the title. The little book was entered for copyright in 1861 by *John Wiley* and printed and stereotyped by *R. Craighead*, 81 Centre street, New York. The Appendix by the author is dated 1860, from Rio Grande, Brazil. English editions up to the 8th were done in London by *Trübner & Co.* until as late as 1878, and wholly reprinted in London by *Ballantyne & Hanson* with entirely different pagination. Leo Kofler, in The Art of Breathing, London, 1902, refers to "Shut your Mouth", saying it is of the highest authority. I have seen references to an edition of 1865 said to have been printed and published in New York but the book has never come under my observation. I have also seen an edition printed in manuograph, but have no record of it. Any of the regular editions sell usually for about three or four dollars.

1865

AN/ ACCOUNT OF AN ANNUAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONY/ PRACTICED BY THE MANDAN TRIBE/ OF NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS/ London/ 1865.

Quarto, 8 p.

I have somewhere seen the statement that only fifty copies of this pamphlet were printed. There is no author's name on the title page. It was reprinted in Germany in 1913, without place, date or publisher. My copy is from that issue. My own conviction is that Catlin wrote it as the style is his in almost every detail. In Sabin's Dictionary there is an interesting note concerning the suppression of the item (No. 11528). Another point regarding Catlin's authorship is this: In The Bibliographical and Historical Miscellanies published by The Philobiblon Society (London, 1854-1884), there is included in volume xii. for 1866, George Catlin's Account of an annual religious ceremony practiced by the Mandan tribe of North American Indians, 67 pages. This differs very slightly from the above mentioned item though the obscenities are if possible slightly modified. It is my opinion that someone reprinted this and made it purposely worse than it should be, hence Catlin's ire.

1865

THE/ INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA./ (small design)/ London:/ The Religious Tract Society; Established 1799./ Depository, 56, Paternoster Row, and 65 Saint Paul's Churchyard;/ sold by the booksellers./

16mo, 296 p.

An anonymous juvenile book without date, circa 1865, reproduces many of Catlin's illustrations, notably the various Indian dances and also the interior of a Mandan Indian mystery lodge. By clever rearrangement it produces Catlin's descriptions word for word but without giving any credit.

1867

O-KEE-PA:/ A religious ceremony;/ and other customs/ of the Mandans./ By/ George Catlin./ With thirteen coloured illustrations./ London:/ *Trübner and Co.*, 60 Paternoster Row./ 1867./ All rights reserved.

Tall octavo, 52 p.

Published in America in the same year and from the same sheets and plates in colour by J. B. Lippincott & Co.

This book was written by Catlin to refute the statement which had been made that he had earlier issued a pamphlet regarding a religious ceremony of the most obscene and erotic nature as practised among the Mandans. See item 1865.

1868

LAST RAMBLES AMONGST/ THE INDIANS OF THE ROCKY,/ MOUNTAINS AND THE/ ANDES/ By George Catlin,/ author of "Life Amongst the Indians," etc., etc.,/ (printer's device)/ London:/ *Sampson Low, Son and Marston,*/ Milton House, Ludgate Hill./ 1868. (The right of translation reserved)/

12mo, 361 p., front., 16 illus.

This book in the first edition was published in January, 1868. Some copies carry the October, 1867, advertisements at the end of the text. It should be bound in blue cloth with gold design on front cover and title on back bone. Title in gold on back only. The true first edition has a page of errata following the list of illustrations. It is one of the best of Catlin's lesser works. Value about \$5.00.

1870

THE/ LIFTED AND SUBSIDED/ ROCKS OF AMERICA/ with their influence on the/ oceanic, atmospheric, and/ land currents./ and the/ distribution of races./ By/ Geo. Catlin:/ *Trübner & Co.*, 60 Paternoster Row./ 1870./ (All rights reserved.)/

12mo, xii+228 p., 1 map.

Catlin's last publication. The work in no way enhanced his reputation and might better have been left unpublished as the theories he advanced were neither scientific nor sound.

1871

NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS.*****/ Catalogue/ descriptive and instructive/ of/ Catlin's Indian Cartoons./ *****/ portraits, types, and customs./ 600

paintings in oil,/ with/ 20,000 full length figures/ illustrating their various games, religious ceremonies, and other customs,/ and/ 27 canvas paintings/ of/ LaSalle's discoveries./***** New York:/ *Baker & Godwin*, Printers,/ Printing House Square./ 1871.

Octavo, blue printed wrappers, 85 p., 1 blank page, Appendices a, b, c, to page 99.

From the standpoint of notes this is one of the most important of Catlin's Catalogues.

1880

LIFE/ AMONG/ THE INDIANS/ By/ George Catlin :/ (drawing of Indian Medicine Man)/ London: *Gall and Inglis*, 25 Paternoster Square;/ and Edinburgh./

Octavo, 351 p.

An entire resetting of the original edition, poorly produced and with but eleven instead of twelve plates. My copy is coloured throughout but I believe the edition was also done plain though I have never seen it so. Apparently the popularity of this book demanded this reissue, but it is very poorly done and would certainly not have been sanctioned by Catlin if published during his life-time. No date is to be found on the book but it was circa 1880.

1909

THE BOY'S CATLIN/ My life amongst the Indians/ By/ George Catlin/ Edited with biographical sketch by/ Mary Gay Humphreys/ with sixteen illustrations from the/ author's original drawings/ New York/ *Charles Scribner's Sons*/ 1909./

Octavo, 375 p.

A good elementary survey of Catlin's life and work but of no literary or ethnological value.

NON-MARINE SHELLS OF UPPER CARBONIFEROUS ROCKS OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY JOHN H. DAVIES, M. E., F. G. S.

During recent years much work has been done on the non-marine shells of the genera *Carbonicola*, *Anthracomya*, and *Naiadites*, in Great Britain and other parts of Europe. Wheelton Hind⁴ made a comprehensive study of these genera and his monographs include a critical bibliography and detailed descriptions accompanied by numerous plates. He made important advances in the systematic classification of the shells and proved their value for identifying and correlating coal seams as well as zoning the Coal Measures, particularly in Staffordshire. In France, Prof. Pruvost has been successful in the use of the non-marine lamellibranchs for the correlation of the Coal Measures.

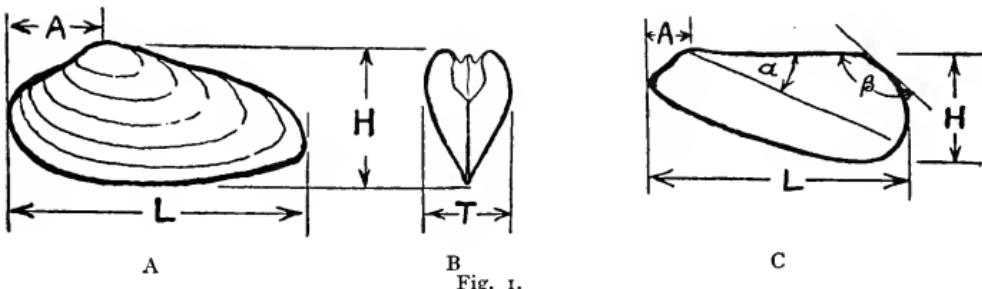
Davies and Trueman (1927)² have found it necessary to have a more refined nomenclature than that previously used in order to make more accurate subdivisions of the Coal Measures of Great Britain. Certain specific names used in a wide sense by Hind, Pruvost, and others have been restricted, and many new species have been described. By means of detailed studies of the non-marine lamellibranchs six zones have been established which are as follows:

SERIES.	ZONES.
Upper Coal Measures.	{ 6. <i>Anthracomya tenuis</i> . 5. <i>Anthracomya phillipsii</i> .
Middle Coal Measures.	{ 4. <i>Anthracomya pulchra</i> . 3. <i>Carbonicola similis</i> . 2. <i>Anthracomya modiolaris</i> .
Part of Middle Coal Measures, Lower Coal Measures and Millstone Grit.	1. <i>Carbonicola ovalis</i> .

Not only have these shells made it possible to zone the Coal

Measures of Great Britain, but a detailed study of them in certain districts over small areas has proved of great value in the economic mining of coal seams, especially in disturbed and faulted areas.

In the course of this recent work in Britain it has proved useful to make studies of the dimensions and variability of the specimens at successive horizons. It is usual to measure the greatest length, L, (Fig. 1.), parallel to the hinge line,



and express the greatest height, H, perpendicular to the hinge line, and the greatest thickness, T, and length of anterior end, A, as percentages of the length. Angles between the hinge line and keel, and between the upper posterior border and the hinge line, are called α and β , respectively. The range of the variation at any horizon has been found to be characteristic of the horizon over a wide area. (Davies and Trueman, 1927).²

The generic names *Carbonicola*, *Anthracomya*, and *Naiadites* distinguish three forms. *Carbonicola* is the name applied to shells with the umbo some distance from the anterior end; the posterior end of *Anthracomya* is expanded, and the umbo is nearer the anterior end. *Naiadites* has the umbo at or near the extreme end (Fig. 2).

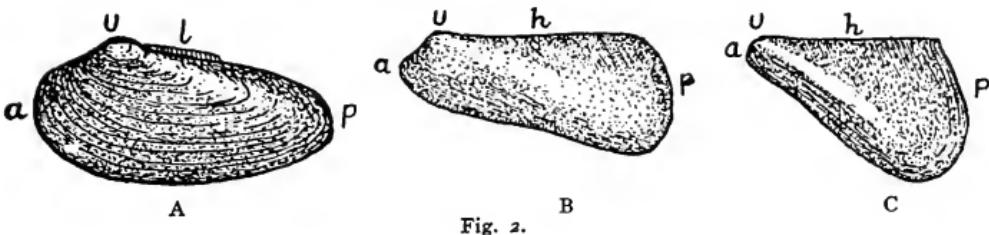


Fig. 2.

Little appears to have been done in the United States of America on the non-marine lamellibranchs of the Coal Measures. This may be due to the workings of thick coal beds which do not require the ripping of the roof, where most of the shells are usually found. Dawson's pioneer work³ on the shells from the Coal Measures of Canada and Nova Scotia is discussed by Wheelton Hind. Figures named *Naiadites elongata* and *Naiadites laevis* reproduced on plate 2, figures 16 and 17, by G. A. White⁷ are species of *Anthracomya* as the umbones are some distance from the anterior end. Fig. 15 represents *Naiadites carbonaria*, (Dawson). No attempt is made to give a detailed bibliography of American non-marine lamellibranchs.

Prof. P. Pruvost (1913)⁵ collected specimens from the roofs of the veins in the Coal Measures of Canada, but found no marine bands. He found *Leiaia* and *Anthracomya* in blue and red shales, and *Carbonia* and *Estheria* are recorded. The Canadian basins reminded him of the Upper Carboniferous of England. *Naiadites carbonaria* was considered by him to be the equivalent of *Naiadites modiolaris*.

Prof. P. E. Raymond⁶ records "a thin-bedded black shale, with great numbers of specimens of *Carbonicola* and *Spirorbis*" from a section at Jeannette, Pa. In a higher horizon he found *Estheria* and *Leiaia tricarinata*.

In both Riversdale and Parrsboro formation of the Riversdale series of Canada, W. A. Bell¹ records species of *Leiaia* and *Anthracomya* together with a naiaditiform *Anthracomya*.

In the course of a recent visit to America the writer had an opportunity of examining the shells preserved in various museums and of collecting specimens in collieries. It appears from his observations that the shells are well represented in North America and that often they are of species comparable with those found in Europe. The following non-marine lamellibranchs which are in the collection of the United States Geological Survey, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C., may be recorded:

Anthracomya sp. (No. 2789). Some of the shells had their valves open and looked somewhat like *Carbonicola aquilina*, but the hinge is long and the anterior end is short. A large number of small specimens are preserved on the same shale. Growth lines are faint. One specimen is undoubtedly *Anthracomya*. Horizon: Conemaugh Higher.

Naiadites has been collected from many coal fields. No. 713, is a crushed elongate *Naiadites* sp. on a soft greyish mudstone. Crushed *Naiadites* sp. (Nos. 1124) are often pyritised and shine on this fissile shale. Many of these have a wrinkled periostracum and some are associated with *Cordaites*. Nos. 1143 are broken specimens of *Naiadites* on a fissile shale which contained plant remains. Specimens numbered 1147 are similar to Nos. 1124. Locality: Lime Creek, South Fork, Sewell Coal, New River Group; Pottsville Series.

Shells No. 893 are crushed *Carbonicola* sp. with prominent growth lines. On a bronze colour mudstone there is an *Anthracomya* sp. Locality 705.

Shells No. 2177 *Anthracomya* sp. Horizon: Upper Pottsville, Tennessee.

Nos. 698 *Naiadites* sp. crushed. *Naiadites* cf. *quadrata* with *Spirorbis*; faint growth lines. Horizon: Top of Lower Pottsville Series.

Nos. 698 (with No. 40 and No. 41 named *Anthracomya lineata*), are *Naiadites*. The umbo is at the extreme upper anterior margin. Horizon: Near top of Lower Pottsville.

No. 827 marked "*Naiadites*" may be an *Anthracomya* with a small round keel. Left valve only is shown; faint growth lines. Plant life on same rock.

Its formula is 15; 60; —; 26; 30.

No. 673 crushed specimens of *Naiadites* cf. *elongata*. On a thin film of *Naiadites* there is *Spirorbis*. Horizon: Mid. Potts. Loc.: Tennessee. Brickville.

No. 2338 is a small but very good elongate specimen of

Naiadites. 12; 37; 12. Length of hinge line from anterior end is 7 mm. Hor.: Mid. Potts. Locality: Tennessee.

No. 2163 Crushed *Naiadites* sp. Hor.: Mid. Potts. Location, Tennessee.

Specimens No. 2394 are poor crushed *Naiadites*.

No. 820 *Naiadites* sp. Locality, Virginia.

No. 2394 poor specimens of crushed *Naiadites* sp. Horizon, Upper Potts. Location, probably Kentucky.

Green Label No. 2964 equals No. 1215 crushed *Naiadites* sp. on dark hard sandy mudstone. Growth lines are distinct and shells shiny. Horizon: Mid. Potts. Sewell, Locality, West. Va.

No. 2150 very small crushed *Naiadites* sp. with wrinkled periostracum. Horizon: Mid. Potts. Locality, West Va.

No. 706 Old label 61 Small *Naiadites* sp. 9.5; 58; —.

No. 706 Old label No. 20. Elongate *Naiadites* sp. 24; 48; —; (Fig. 3).

No. 3615 Large number of crushed and broken *Naiadites* sp. Hor.: Allegheny. Locality, Va.



Fig. 3, 6

Fig. 4, 5

Fig. 5, 4

Fig. 6, 3

No. 1146 Crushed *Naiadites* cf. *elongata* on dark fissile shale. Hor.: Pottsville.

No. 903 Impression of *Carbonicola* cf. *aquilina*? 30; 40; —; 23.3. Very faint growth lines. Another compressed specimen with upper posterior end broken. 33; 51.5; —; 21. These are like crushed *Carbonicola communis*. Hor. and locality, Dorrance Shaft, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

No. 5390 Casts of *Carbonicola* something similar in shape to *Carbonicola nitida* (Davies and Trueman) but the small specimens show growth lines different from *Carbonicola*. Locality, Alabama, Penn.

No. 719 (28 and 29) thin film of *Naiadites* sp.

No. 2756 Small *Naiadites* sp. Hor.: Allegheny? Loc, W. Va.

No. 2771 (Nos. 11 and 12) Elongate forms of crushed *Naiadites* sp. Hor.: Upper Potts. Locality, W. Va.

No. 708 (21) Crushed elongate *Naiadites* sp. on a dark fissile shale. 28; 42; —. The length of hinge line from anterior end is 20 mm. Hor.: Upper Potts. Locality, W. Va. There were higher forms. (Fig. 4).

Nos. 2130, 2169 (18) *Naiadites* cf. *elongata*.

No. 2585 (52) *Naiadites* cf. *elongata*. Hor.: Up. Potts. Locality, W. Va.

No. 703 (27) *Naiadites* sp. Hor.: Lower Potts. Locality, W. Va.

The following is a summary of the series, shells, and localities of the Non-Marine fossils of the Upper Carboniferous rocks, United States of America:

3. Conemaugh. *Anthracomya* sp. and *Carbonicola* cf. *aquilina*.

2. Allegheny? Large number of crushed and broken *Naiadites* sp. in Virginia.

I { Upper Pottsville. Crushed *Naiadites* cf. *elongata* with distinct growth-lines are common in West Virginia. Crushed *Naiadites* in Kentucky.
 Middle Pottsville. *Naiadites* sp. in Virginia and Tennessee; *Naiadites* cf. *elongata* with *Spirorbis* in Tennessee.
 Lower Pottsville. *Naiadites* sp. West Virginia.

The shells are often pyritised and shiny, many having wrinkled periostracum. Some are associated with *cordaites*.

* * * * *

In the collection of the United States Geological Survey there was a slab crowded with *Naiadites carbonaria*, (Dawson) from South Joggins, Nova Scotia. The left valve of one shell (Fig. 5) gives the following formula: 25; 60; ?50; 11; =46°. The umbo is a short distance from the

anterior end. The keel is not sharp. Growth lines are faint, but clear. The right valve is not preserved so the thickness in the above formula is taken as twice that of the left valve.

* * * * *

The following specimens are in the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society Museum, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.:

Fig. 6 shows the left valve and the umbo of the right valve of a stout *Carbonicola* sp. The growth lines are very faint and umbones are not contiguous. Anterior end short, rounded and swollen; posterior end produced and compressed, 31; 58; —; 39.

Fig. 7 represents the right valve of *Carbonicola* sp. It is almost flat on mudstone. The posterior end is high and tends to resemble that of *Anthracomya*, but the anterior end is long. The umbones are raised above the hinge line and the greatest height is from the umbones to the lower margin. Growth lines distinct, anterior and posterior margins convex. 24; 50; —; 42.

Fig. 8 shows two flat valves of *Carbonicola* sp. which in

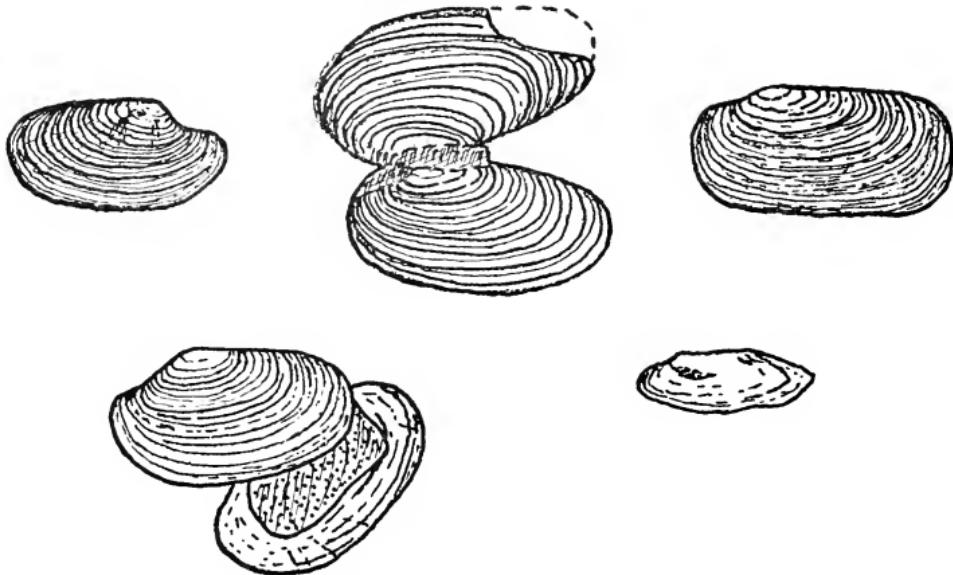


Fig. 7

Fig. 10.

Fig. 8.

Fig. 11.

Fig. 9.

general form resembles *Carbonicola ovalis* but may not be related to that species. The posterior inferior margin of the right valve is broken. Shell is ovate, flattened and compressed. Growth lines distinct. Dimensions of left valve, 32; 40.6; —; 25. This shell tends towards *Anthracomya*.

A specimen recorded as *Anthracomya* sp. is shown in Fig. 9. It is a left valve of a shell which is transversely oblong, with upper and lower margins almost parallel, but slightly convex. The umbones are hardly raised above the hinge line and are situated a little over a third of the length from anterior end. Greatest height is a little behind umbo. 28; 50; —; 35.7 The growth lines are distinct.

Another specimen (Fig. 10) shows the left valve of an *Anthracomya* with the impression of another valve. They are marked by coarse growth lines. 24; 58; —; 33. In form this shell resembles *Anthracomya rubida*, but it is probably a distinct species.

* * * * *

Crushed specimens of *Anthracomya* were collected on the rubbish heaps of the Lehigh & Wilkes-Barre Coal Company collieries, Wilkes-Barre. As the materials of the tip came from the roof of several coal seams the exact horizon is not known. An elongate form of *Anthracomya* sp. is shown in Fig. 11. It gives the following formula: 17; 35; —; 12. It resembles *Anthracomya lanceolata*, (Hind), but the anterior end is not so low and short. The recurring of the growth lines on the posterior end, and the percentage height are similar. Thickness cannot be measured. (These specimen's are in the writer's collection).

In conclusion, it may be noted that while fossils of the non-marine shells are apparently less abundant in the Upper Carboniferous of North America than in parts of Europe, they nevertheless are fairly widely distributed. It may be suggested that a detailed study of their distribution would be of value in the identification and correlation of the coal beds, and the zoning of the rocks.

It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. T. H. Williams, Mr. George Williams, Edwardsville, and Mr. John D. Joseph, Wilkes-Barre, for conducting me through the mines and aiding me in the collection of specimens on the rubbish tips. Miss Frances Dorrance, Director of Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, kindly lent me four specimens from the Museum; while to Dr. G. H. Girty, Washington, D. C., I am indebted for providing every facility to study specimens collected by the United States Geological Survey, and also for some fossils which he gave me. To Dr. A. E. Trueman, Swansea, my thanks are due for helpful suggestions in the preparation of the paper.

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THE STUDENT AT PARIS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL
AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

BY ANDRÉ ALDEN BEAUMONT, JR.

March 18, 1927

Twenty-seven years ago the University of Paris celebrated the seven hundredth anniversary of its founding. The celebration was misleading in the sense that it presumes an actual date of foundation for an institution that was already in existence in the year 1200 when it was recognized by King Philip Augustus. In common with parliaments, another product of the Middle Ages, the universities had no birthdays. They "just grew." Almost a hundred years before the Abbot Guibert of Nogent-sur-Seine, on the great highway from Burgundy and the South, wrote, "I see villages and towns fairly burn with eagerness in the study of grammar," and Abelard had drawn his thousands of students from the established school of Notre Dame to the heights of Mont-Sainte-Geneviève. And the monk Froidmont had noticed with a touch of bitterness that "the scholars are wont to roam around the world and visit all its cities, till much learning makes them mad; for in Paris they seek liberal arts, in Orléans authors, at Salerno gallipots, at Toledo demons, and in no place decent manners."

The University of Paris then, in so far as it was a center of learning, had existed long before 1200. The eleventh century had experienced a great upheaval of medieval life in many phases. A new spirit of enquiry and adventure was abroad, a spirit akin to the later Renaissance. Some men showed it by answering the call of Duke William of Normandy to go adventuring to England, many more by following the greater adventure of Pope Urban II. to recover the Holy Land from the Mohammedan, and others, inflamed with the same zeal and enthusiasm, went to examine the

subtle theories of the philosophers and teachers. Thus a school appeared wherever a teacher collected disciples about him. A gradual increase in the subject matter enabled the teachers to be always interesting. During the twelfth century the works of Aristotle and other Greeks made their appearance in Western Europe partly by way of Italy and Sicily but more from Mohammedan Spain. So great was the enthusiasm for Aristotle that Dante was to call him "the master of them that know." Many of the new schools were ephemeral and disappeared upon the death of the great teacher. But some enjoyed advantages sufficient to insure their permanence. Such a one is Paris, the model for all universities north of the Alps and therefore the mother of us all. For at Paris had long existed a school attached to the cathedral of Notre Dame, and from Paris the king drew scholars to serve him in the growing business of the state. At Paris had taught Abelard, the greatest teacher of the day, the charm of whose personality could draw students into the depths of the wilderness or back within the walls of the town. The University of Paris was indeed built of men (*bâtie en hommes*), as one of her historians boasts. For Abelard's pupils adopted his methods and felt his intellectual curiosity while remaining safe within the boundaries of respectable orthodoxy. Abelard had accustomed students to go to Paris. His pupils who followed him as teachers made it a habit until the University developed almost imperceptibly out of the cathedral school, while retaining the ecclesiastical character of its origin and its privileges and the guiding care of the chancellor of the cathedral.

The new method of teaching which made Abelard and the School of Paris famous was the disputation. Abelard's interest was to train scholars to think independently. The men of the earlier Middle Ages were dependent upon authority—the authority of St. Augustine, of St. Dionysius, or of some other church father. By merely pointing out that the worthy

fathers frequently disagreed on essential points of dogma Abelard overthrew the whole system of dependence upon authority. He proposed the question and then skillfully drew up the authorities on both sides. This opened the discussion, which was all that Abelard desired. "The first key to wisdom is this—constant and frequent interrogation . . . For by doubting we are led to question, by questioning we arrive at truth," he wrote in the preface of his textbook. This is the new method of teaching which, added to Abelard's clear reasoning and beauty of voice, drew students across mountains and narrow seas in such numbers that an old saying runs, "the Italians have the Papacy, the Germans have the Empire, and the French have Learning."

We are wont to think of the university as a great institution with a complicated machinery of faculties and trustees, dormitories, laboratories, and endowments, publications and athletic teams. Looking at Paris in 1200 we would find none of these excrescences save one—the faculty. And some of us might be disturbed at hearing men speak of the "university" of the shoemakers, or of the iron-mongers, or of the fishermen of the Seine. For the term *universitas* meant merely "the members" of a group, a sworn brotherhood of persons following a common calling, a gild of artisans, a league of merchants or of soldiers on crusade. It was only later and quite by accident that the term became restricted to a learned corporation. The University had its members but beyond that nothing. There was no library, no lecture hall, no dormitory, and no money. Yet in that very poverty lay the greatest strength of the developing institution. The University might find a home wherever there were rooms to be hired and convents or churches to be borrowed. If the king or the citizens of Paris proved oppressive, the University could move at a moment's notice and migrate to some more hospitable town. The threat of such a suspension of lectures and subsequent migration always brought the citizens

to terms, for much as they disliked the students they could not forego the opportunities of economic gain which their presence insured.

The teachers, the Masters of Arts, formed this corporation, probably about the year 1170, for the advantages of cooperative bargaining in the matter of rooms and board, and in order to insist upon certain standards of learning before one might presume to teach. They were all teachers of the arts—the seven arts which had been at the basis of Roman education—the trivium, grammar, rhetoric, and logic, and the quadrivium, arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, and music. The higher faculties of Medicine, Laws, and Theology were mere off-shoots of this central core—the Faculty of Arts. The University was further divided into national groups corresponding to the most prominent countries whose citizens crossed seas or mountains in search for divine philosophy. They were organized into four nations, “the honorable nation of the Gauls,” “the venerable nation of the Normans,” “the very faithful nation of the Picards,” and “the very constant nation of the English.” These controlled the University and elected the rector, whose term was short but whose power was great for he represented them in all dealings with the outside world. The chancellor was not a member of the University although he continued to grant the license to teach. The nations were subdivided into several provinces, each with a dean at its head. These terms require some explanation for the four by no means include all the nationalities studying at Paris. Thus the English nation included Germans and Scandinavians and all the North and East of Europe, while the single province of Bourges in the Gallic nation embraced all Berrichon, Spanish, Italian, Syrian, Egyptian, Persian, and Armenian students. Each nation held a key to one of the four locks of the chest in which the funds of the University were kept, when there were any, and a considerable amount of time seems to have been spent in

"drinking up the surplus," as the process was called. From the records of the English nation alone a learned monograph has been written on the taverns of medieval Paris. The Cardinal Jacques de Vitry has left us an amusing account of the nations. "They wrangled and disputed not merely about the various sects, or about some discussions, but the differences between the countries also caused dissensions, hatreds, and virulent animosities among them, and they impudently uttered all kinds of affronts and insults against one another. They affirmed that the English were drunkards and had tails; the sons of France proud, effeminate, and carefully adorned like women. They said that the Germans were furious and obscene at their feasts; the Normans, vain and boastful; the Poitevins, traitors and always adventurers. The Burgundians they considered vulgar and stupid. The Bretons were reputed to be fickle and changeable, and were often reproached with the death of Arthur. The Lombards were called avaricious, vicious, and cowardly; the Romans, seditious, turbulent, and slanderous; the Sicilians, tyrannical and cruel; the inhabitants of Brabant, men of blood, incendiaries, brigands, and ravishers; the Flemish, fickle, prodigal, gluttonous, yielding as butter, and slothful. After such insults, from words they often came to blows."

To turn now to the students themselves, to examine their lives, their work and their play, we have a number of sources on which we may draw. We may find them in their letters home, generally asking for money in the thirteenth as in the twentieth century, in their songs which they composed and sang in the taverns of an evening, in the invectives of the moralists against their manner of life, in the records of the courts of law, wherein their frequent disturbances of the peace are noted, as well as in the chronicles and documents of the time.

The bright young man who had attracted the favorable notice of his teachers in the monastic school near his home

would, if he lived north of the Alps in the thirteenth century, have desired to continue his education in the famous school of Paris. Were not her schools praised above all others? Stephen of Tournai writes, "In that time letters flourished at Paris. Never before in any time or in any part of the world, whether in Athens or Egypt, had there been such a multitude of students. The reason for this must be sought not only in the admirable beauty of Paris, but also in the special privileges which King Philip and his father before him conferred upon the scholars. In that great city the study of the trivium and the quadrivium, of canon and civil law, as also of the science which empowers one to preserve the health of the body and cure its ills, were held in high esteem. But the crowd pressed with a special zeal about the chairs where Holy Scripture was taught, or where the problems of theology were solved." Our young student, he would probably have not been over fifteen or sixteen, would have been little tempted by the ultimate possibility of studying theology, but he would have been intent upon finishing his course in Arts as soon as possible that he might enter one of the professions that led to lucrative employment. There were no entrance examinations for him to pass, but he would have been expected to have a fair knowledge of conversational Latin, since all his text-books and lectures were in that language, and the rules forbade speech in the vulgar tongue, even in play, and many were the fines exacted for slips.

The great term lasted from the Feast of Saint Remi (October 1) to Easter. But the newcomer would have been in Paris by the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 15). The freshman, we may as well call him so, although his medieval name was *Bejaunus* and his color yellow rather than green, entered the Latin Quarter and sought out the hall hired by the nation to whose membership he aspired, and there found some friend from home who would have helped him with his enrollment under a master and in finding a

room. The chosen master received him kindly, for fees were paid after direct negotiations between master and student. The problem of a room was more difficult for rents were high, in spite of the efforts of the nations to force down the cost of living, and the rooms themselves small and dark and cold. We have a letter from two students who had managed to settle themselves comfortably. It is from Orléans, but might do for any other university town. "To our dear and Revered Parent, Greetings and Filial Obedience. May you be pleased to learn that, thanks to God, we continue in good health in the city of Orléans and that we devote ourselves entirely to study, bearing in mind what Cato has said, 'It is glorious to know something.' We live in a good stylish house, separated from the schools and market by only a single building, and we can therefore attend our daily courses without wetting our feet. We also have some good friends who are well advanced and thoroughly desirable in every way. We heartily congratulate ourselves upon it, for the Psalmist has said, 'with the pure thou wilt show thyself pure.' But because lack of equipment hinders the achievement of the aims we have in view, we believe we ought to appeal to your paternal love and to ask you to have the goodness to send enough money by the bearer to buy some parchment, ink, and ink-stand, and such other things as we need. You will not leave us in embarrassment, and will insist that we finish our studies properly, so as to be able to return to our country with honor. The bearer will also take charge of the shoes and hose which you may have to send us. You can also send us news of yourself by the same means."

Having settled his few belongings and composed some such letter home, the freshman would have been eager to go out in the company of his friend to see the sights of the densely populated town. Everywhere were the students, most of them the sons of knights and yeomen or of the newly rich merchants, tradesmen, or thrifty artisans, the nephews of

successful ecclesiastics, or promising lads supported by the charity of kindly abbots or archdeacons. Occasionally would pass some poor student who begged his bread from door to door or earned a few sous by carrying holy water or assisting at funerals. Let him depend on his only friend, St. Nicholas. There would have been a few sons of rich men followed by a crowd of servants ostentatiously carrying great folios bound in red and indulging the medieval love of fine raiment by a display of Eastern silks and fine furs. All were tonsured and were considered members of the clergy, but their actions were frequently unclerical, and this fiction enabled the scholars to indulge in crimes without the smallest fear of the summary execution which would have been the fate of the apprentice. In costume all wore a long garment very like the habit of a monk, save that the students preferred bright hues, blue, violet, green, or blood-color, to the conventional brown or black. Many wore short capes in defiance of the regulations and shoes with long, pointed toes. The streets of old Paris were narrow, dirty, and dark, but full of color and movement. Hawkers cried their wares, the shop fronts opened to display the products of the art and industry carried on within. The new cathedral of Notre Dame was finished only in 1220, but the students were already causing scandal by their irreverence in rolling dice on the altars, even while mass was being said. The freshman would have been impressed by the king's great castle of the Louvre, dominating the river, and would perhaps have seen the hated police of the Provost of Paris, hereditary enemy of students. He would have been taken outside the new walls with which Philip Augustus was protecting his capital, to see the Pré-aux-clercs, the only bit of land owned by the University—a sort of playground won by usurpation from the monastery of St. Germain, with whose sturdy monks the scholars were engaged in incessant litigations and a succession of murderous affrays. The king himself leaves us a notice of their

fighting proclivities. "They are bolder than knights," says Philip Augustus, "for knights clothed in their armor hesitate to engage in battle; while these clerks, with neither helmet nor hauberk, and with their tonsured heads, throw themselves into the fight armed only with knives." After watching the students at their games of ball or marbles, the freshman would have gone back along the left bank of the Seine and might have found time to write to the friend whom he had left at home.

One student, Guy of Basoches, has written his impressions of Paris. "My situation then is this: I am indeed in Paris, happy because of soundness of both mind and body, happier were you enjoying it too, and happiest had it but been my lot to have you with me. I am indeed in Paris, in that City of Kings, which not only holds, by the sweet delight of her natural dowry, those who are with her, but also alluringly invites those who are far away. For as the moon by the majesty of its more brilliant mirror overwhelms the rays of the stars, not otherwise does said city raise its imperial head with its diadem of royal dignity above the rest of the cities. It is situated in the lap of a delightful valley, surrounded by a coronet of mountains which Ceres and Bacchus adorn with fervent zeal. The Seine, no humble stream amid the army of rivers, superb in its channel, throwing its two arms about the head, the heart, the very marrow of the city, forms an island. The suburbs reach out to right and left, the less excellent, even, of which begets envy in envious cities. From the two suburbs two stone bridges stretch over to the island and one of them has been named for its size, for it is Great, faces the North and the English Sea, while the opposite one, which opens towards the Loire, they call the Little Bridge. . .

"On this island Philosophy, of old, placed a royal throne for herself, Philosophy, who, despised in her solitude, with a sole attendant, Study, now possesses an enduring citadel of light and immortality, and under her victorious feet tramples the withered flowers of a world already in its dotage.

"On this island, the seven sisters, to wit, the Liberal Arts, have secured an eternal abiding place for themselves, and, with the ringing clarion of their nobler eloquence, decrees and laws are proclaimed.

"Here the healing font of learning gushes forth, and as it were evoking from itself three most limpid streams, it makes a threefold division of the knowledge of the sacred page into History, Allegory, and Morals."

Having completed his letter the freshman would have been led by his friend to a favorite tavern for supper. At hand were *The Two Swords* near the Petit Pont, *The Sign of Our Lady* in the rue Saint-Jacques. *The Swan*, *The Falcon*, and *The Arms of France*. There the friend would have invited a group of congenial spirits, students and some of the younger masters, to enjoy an evening's carouse at the expense of the unsuspecting *bejaunus*. All ages of students have satisfied their bullying instincts at the expense of the newcomer. The medieval freshman was subjected to considerable hazing during the first months of his residence, until he had been dipped in the waters of a fountain to be cleansed of his country boorishness on the great day of the Holy Innocents (December 28). But a generous expenditure of the money which his father fondly believed would keep him for the winter would have eased his path. Around the table he would have heard the stories of the glorious fights which the students had carried on with the townsmen and their police. How the students had won their charter of privileges from the king in that famous year 1200. We have a contemporary report of the event. "There was at Paris a notable German scholar who was bishop-elect of Liège. His servant, while buying wine at a tavern, was beaten and his wine jar was broken. When this was known, the German clerks came together and entering the tavern they wounded the host, and having beaten him they went off, leaving him half dead. Therefore there was an outcry among the people and the city

was stirred, so that Thomas, the Provost of Paris, under arms, and with an armed mob of citizens, broke into the Hall of the German clerks, and in their combat that notable scholar who was bishop-elect of Liège, was killed, with some of his people.

"Therefore the Masters of the scholars in Paris going to the King of France complained to him of Thomas, the Provost of Paris, and of his accomplices who killed the aforesaid scholars. And at their instance the aforesaid Thomas was arrested, as were certain of his accomplices, and put in prison. But some of them escaped by flight, leaving their homes and occupations; then the King of France, in his wrath, had their houses demolished and their vines and fruit trees uprooted.

"But as to the Provost, it was decided that he should be kept in prison, not to be released until he should clear himself by the ordeal of water or sword, and if he failed, he should be hung, and if he was cleared he should, by the King's clemency, leave the Kingdom.

"And yet the scholars, pitying him, entreated the King of France that the Prevost and his accomplices after being flogged after the manner of scholars at school, should be let alone and be restored to their occupations.

"But the King of France would not grant this, saying that it would be greatly derogatory to his honor if any one but himself should punish his malefactors. Furthermore, this same King of France, being afraid that the Masters of the scholars, and the scholars themselves, would withdraw from his city, sought to satisfy them by decreeing that for the future no clerk should be haled to a secular trial on account of any misdemeanor which he had committed, but that if the clerk committed a misdemeanor he should be delivered over to the Bishop and be dealt with in accordance with the clerk's court. Also this same King of France decreed that whoever was the Provost of Paris should take oath that he would be

loyal to the clerks, saving his loyalty to the king. Moreover this same King conferred upon the scholars his own sure peace and confirmed it to them by his own charter.

"But that Provost, when he had been detained in the King's prison for many days planned his escape by flight, and, as he was being lowered over the wall, the rope broke, and falling from a height to the ground, he was killed."

Long must they have laughed at the discomfiture of their enemies, and have praised the wisdom of the King, whose capital gained prestige from their presence. A few years later they would have had another opportunity to try their strength. Under the more pious rule of the Regent, Blanche of Castile, the mother of St. Louis, less favor was shown the scholars. They found a tavern where the wine "was excellent and sweet to drink," as the pope's letter says, and the following brawl was carried into the streets where many were left half-dead (the usual formula). The Queen-Mother and her officials refused all redress in a quarrel in which the students were clearly at fault. Thereupon, in 1229, the Masters suspended all lectures and ordered a migration to other cities. Many went to Angers, but some accepted the invitation of Henry III. and betook themselves across the Channel and, settling in England, gave Oxford its first impulse towards organization. After two years the Queen-Mother, alarmed at the loss of prestige and of economic prosperity in the capital, made amends and recalled the scholars. Thereafter they were more arrogant than ever.

Many stories would have been told over the wine cups, the local gossip of the universities. Of the three students who were so poor that they possessed but one gown among them and had to take turns attending lectures; of the professor of law who was attacked by his students with swords in his classroom and could only defend himself by hurling at their heads the huge volumes of the Digest from which he had been reading; of the brother student who had been caught for the

third time bringing a woman of suspected reputation into the Hall and so was in danger of expulsion; of the scandal of the hisses and handclappings and loud shouts which accompanied some of the lectures; or of the glorious week of incessant dancing and singing by which the students did honor to Philip Augustus in celebrating his victory at Bouvines over the Holy Roman Emperor. All this and much more of like nature would have been talked over before they went out to wander through the streets to make the night hideous for the good burghers, whose ordinances required that they go to bed early. An official proclamation denounces a class of scholars, or pretended scholars, who "by day and night atrociously wound and slay many, carry off women, ravish virgins, break into houses; and commit over and over again robberies and many other enormities hateful to God." If they got into no serious trouble they were scot-free since drunkenness was no University offense whatever.

Perhaps the freshman would have been shocked by a group of monks at the next table, freed for a time from the monotonous routine of the cloister, who had come to enjoy varied and congenial society under the pretext of study. These would have criticised the pope and the cardinals for their greed, pointing out that the only interest of the shepherd in his flock was in their fleeces. Perhaps they would have recited an irreverent and even blasphemous parody of the mass or a passage from the Gospel according to Mark's of Silver. Gross irreverence is a startling feature of medieval student life and goes far towards breaking down our preconceived notions of the so-called "Age of Faith." Men were actually superstitious only at the time of death and young men in health do not think they are going to die. The Church thundered against these heretical and loose-living students but could do nothing, for the University was hedged-round with privileges. The preachers complained that the students neglected mass and confession and used the holy days as occa-

sions for idleness. "In eating and drinking there are not their equals; they are devourers at table, but not devout at mass. At work they yawn; at banquet they stand in awe of no one. They abhor meditation upon the divine Books, but they love to see the wine sparkling in their glasses and they gulp it down intrepidly."

After such a night the freshman would have had great difficulty in arising for his first lecture at six o'clock and a still harder time waiting for the ten o'clock dinner hour. How he envied the student of canon law whose first lecture started at nine! Perhaps the afternoon lecture would have been more attractive, especially if he had chosen one of the popular professors who deserted the old theology to teach novelties, one of the type against whom the preachers railed. "All their efforts tend to please, to retain, to mislead their auditors." "Babblers of flesh and bone irreverently discuss spiritual things, the essence of God, the incarnation of the Word! In the crossways one hears these subtle logicians divide the Indivisible Trinity! There are as many errors as there are teachers, as many scandals as there are hearers, as many blasphemies as there are public squares." "Our scholars, puffed up with a vain philosophy, are happy when, by force of subtlety, they have come upon some discovery! They do not accept the shape of the globe, the property of the elements, the beginning and the end of the seasons, the force of the wind, the bushes or their roots! Here is the object of their studies: they believe that they will find the reason of things. But the supreme cause, the object and principle of everything, they only see with blear eyes if at all. O, ye, who would know, begin not with the sky, but with yourselves; see what ye are, what ye should be and what ye shall be. Of what use is it to discuss the ideas of Plato, to read and reread Scipio's dream? What good is there in all these inextricable arguments which are the fashion and in that craze for logical subtleties in which many have found

their destruction?" But the moralists were unheard and the students eagerly studied Greek philosophy, hateful to the ascetic.

The student followed the courses in the Faculty of Arts for six years. At the end of this period he might, if he were twenty years of age, apply to the chancellor of the cathedral for the examination which would permit him to enter the ranks of the masters. The examination consisted of the defense of a thesis by the candidate before an assembly of reverend masters, and was followed by a banquet at the candidate's expense. That these tests were no joke or mere formality may be inferred from the oath required, that if the candidate were unsuccessful he would not use a knife or dagger on the examiner. Hear the voice of one who reports to his parents the success with which he met the test. "Sing new canticles to the glory of God! Play the viol and the organ; sound the loud cymbals! Your son has just maintained a learned thesis in the presence of a numerous assembly of masters and students. I replied to all the questions without hesitation; no one could stump me. I have given a magnificent banquet at which rich and poor have been regaled as never before. Already I have solemnly opened a school. And how full it has been since the first day! The neighboring schools are denuded to furnish me with a great number of auditors."

He was now a full-fledged master, a member of the corporation, and could continue to lecture to students or to proceed to a higher degree. Many took the latter alternative and enrolled in further courses in law or medicine or theology. Law and medicine offered the more attractive futures. In both were large incomes to be made. The Roman law opened the way to a lucrative profession in the service of the crown, and the canon law was hardly less profitable because of the wide jurisdiction of the clerical courts. That both were frequently studied we know from

our present degrees, LL.D. (Doctor of Laws) and J.U.D. (*juris utriusque Doctor*). Many followed the more humble calling of letter-writing, the *ars notaria* or *ars dictaminis*, which led the way to the chanceries of nobles or prelates, for its course of study was taken up with the writings issued from the papal curia and the court of the Emperor. In the law course itself, the student listened to the reading and explanation of the ponderous tomes of Justinian's *Corpus juris civilis*, and to Gratian's codification of the canons of the Church.

Although the study of medicine took six years, from the complaints of the time we know that it had its devotees. Apparently exorbitant charges for medical attention are not confined to our own times. A Master of Arts writes, "With the copper and silver which they receive for their poisons, they build them fine houses in Paris;" "She (Surgery) has such bold hands that she spares no one from whom she may be able to get money." The text-books from which one might get this mysterious power of gaining wealth were of Greek or Arabic origin, expensive and rare. To the reading of some of the more important books the student had to listen three times. The study consisted almost entirely in listening to the words of the ancients, for there was little or no dissection. When an animal was chosen for experiment the favorite appears to have been the pig, possibly because one could be procured so easily in the street of any medieval city. Only after the thirteenth century do we begin to hear criticism of the medical students as grave-robbers.

In Paris theology was the Queen of the Sciences, and loud is the lip-service in her honor. She was more admired than studied, however, for the course required from eight to fourteen years, and there was no very certain future for the student, save the teaching of others, an unattractive prospect to most.

All this time at Paris the student was leading the most active intellectual life of the day. It was varied, to be sure, with many activities of a more profane nature. The summer-time with its long vacation was looked forward to with the greatest longing. Then the students issued forth from their damp, unheated lodgings to wander about the country in the pleasant warmth of the spring sun. They frequently united into groups for the purposes of protection and gain, for they took their viols and guitars with them and played and danced like jongleurs at the many country fairs. We have a whole literature of student songs describing this life, full of the spontaneous note of enjoyment of life which we are accustomed to associate with the Renaissance. Disengaged from the ties and duties imposed by temporal respectability, they sing of the spring with its blue sky, made for rural pleasures. They describe a vagabond existence, the truant life of capricious students always ready to play practical jokes on solid burghers and to seduce pretty burgesses. Bacchus and Venus and Decius (the God of Dice) are their gods, wherein they link themselves with past Aristophanes and future Rabelais. There are songs of love in many phases and for divers kinds of women, love of wine, love of dice, as well as satires on society, moral dissertations on the brevity of life, and the most licentious stories in French. The assembled topers are thus described:

Some are gaming, some are drinking,
Some are living without thinking;
And of those who make the racket,
Some are stripped of coat and jacket;
Some get clothes of finer feather,
Some are cleaned out altogether;
No one there dreads death's invasion,
But all drink in emulation.

These were the disciples of a half-fabulous bishop, Golias, by name, of whom we have the following contemporary description: "A certain parasite called Golias, who in our

time obtained wide notoriety for his gluttony and lechery, and by addition to gulosity and debauchery deserved his surname, being of excellent culture but of bad manners, and of no moral discipline, uttered oftentimes and in many forms, both of rhythm and meter, infamous libels against the Pope and the Curia of Rome, with no less impudence than imprudence." The "Confession" of this Golias contains the famous lines:

In the public house to die
Is my resolution:
Let wine to my lips be nigh
At life's dissolution:

That will make the angels cry,
With glad elocution,
'Grant this toper, God on high,
'Grace and absolution!'

Many of these were poor itinerants, debauchees and frequenters of taverns, knaves masking under the name of students, to whom the Church forbade the tonsure. But the genuineness of the songs cannot be doubted. They speak too convincingly of the freedom of youth, shut up too long in a foreign atmosphere.

THE INVITATION TO YOUTH

Take your pleasures, dance and play,
Each with other while ye may:
Youth is nimble, full of grace;
Age is lame, of tardy pace.

We the wars of love shall wage,
Who are yet of tender age;
'Neath the tents of Venus dwell
All the joys that youth loves well.

Young men kindle heart's desire;
You may liken them to fire:
Old men frighten love away
With cold frost and dry decay.

INVITATION TO THE DANCE

Cast aside dull books and thought;
 Sweet is folly, sweet is play:
 Take the pleasure Spring hath brought
 In youth's opening holiday!
 Right it is old age should ponder
 On grave matters fraught with care;
 Tender youth is free to wander,
 Free to frolic light as air.

Like a dream our prime is flown,
 Prisoned in a study:
 Sport and folly are youth's own,
 Tender youth and ruddy.

PASTORAL

There went in the dawning light
 A little rustic maiden;
 Her flock so white, her crook so slight
 With fleecy new wool laden.

Small is the flock, and there you'll see
 The she-ass and the wether;
 This goat's a he, and that's a she,
 The bull-calf and the heifer.

She looked upon the green-sward, where
 A student lay at leisure.
 "What do you there, young Sir, so fair?"
 "Come, play with me, my treasure!"

TIME'S A-FLYING— —

Laurel-crowned Horatius,
 True, how true thy saying!
 Swift as wind flies over us
 Time, devouring, slaying.
 Where are, oh! those goblets full
 Of wine honey-laden,
 Strifes and loves and bountiful
 Lips of ruddy maiden?

Grows the young grape tenderly,
And the maid is growing;
But the thirsty poet, see,
Years on him are snowing!
What's the use of hoary curls
Of the bays undying,
If we may not kiss the girls,
Drink while time's a-flying?

We cannot leave the students without some remarks of caution. "The life of the virtuous student has no annals." Yet he always exists; he demands and secures his money's worth. The ideal scholar of the sermons is colorless and obedient, respectful to his elders, eager to learn, and keeping much to himself. We never hear of him then or now. There is no novel written, nor play produced, nor moving picture filmed of the life of the good student. When we return to our reunions we talk not of the library and the lecture hall, but of the riots and escapades, the proms, and the foot-ball games. It is the broadly human aspect of student life that is the same yesterday, today, and forever. We find them in the thirteenth century discussing money and clothes, rooms, teachers, books, good cheer and good fellowship, and these remain with us. Though the Middle Ages are far away, in many aspects farther than classic times, people are after all human beings and the fundamental factors are not subject to change. In his relation to life and learning the modern student resembles his mediæval predecessor far more than he knows. His surroundings are different, but his problems are much the same, his morals are, we believe, better, but in his ambitions, his rivalries, and desire for learning he would recognize his blood-brother. And his achievement opens the same door to "the ancient and universal company of scholars."

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EARLY AMERICAN SNOBS.

BY DIXON RYAN FOX.

Address at Annual Meeting, February 26, 1929.

The great theme of early American history is the interaction of the European tradition and the American environment. There was nothing new about American society, except America. A new kind of community, it is true, was to result from the peaceful commingling here of various European peoples and from the circumstance that scarcely anyone who came had capital beyond his wits and hands. But though they were of different stocks, and though they came largely from a single social stratum, the immigrants brought along with other mental furniture a conception of classes of gentlemen and simple-men. Nearly every immigrant hoped to be somewhat more of a gentleman here than he had been in Europe; in other words, few came here to be democratic. As soon as surplus wealth could support a little leisure pretensions were set up and privileges claimed.¹ At the end of the eighteenth century this element in the European tradition had been weakened by the philosophy of the Revolution, but the rapid accumulation of wealth and the institution of a more vigorous federal government were factors strengthening it again. The constitutions had proclaimed that all men were equal before the law, though not necessarily in political privilege; whether America should favor or forbid a social stratification by custom, was as yet quite undecided.

In the cities we have briefly sketched there were no well-marked "quarters." Houses for business and for residence were intermingled; usually shop-keepers and even many wealthy wholesalers lived over their stores or behind them and most professional men received their clients in their

¹J. T. Adams, *Provincial Society (A History of American Life, III,) 56-57.*

homes.² Nevertheless, there were some mansions which people passed with deferential curiosity, from whose windows on winter evenings there streamed the light of many candles and the sound of flute and violin, and to whose doors came gaily painted carriages clattering over the cobbles, homes of those generally admitted to be "the quality."³

At the top were the well-to-do old merchant-shipping families, especially those who had taken the right side during the Revolution, together with their lawyers and, at a little economic (and therefore social) distance, their physicians. Next were the rich newcomers who had moved in from the country during the war or afterward, a class of great importance in Boston—the Prescotts, Lees, Cabots, Lowells and others—who, it was said, had bought the property of exiled Tories at bargain prices.⁴ Then came the self-made business men whose rise had been watched by the community and who could therefore be recalled in humbler circumstances. All these had country relatives, large-acred cousins who came to visit, especially in New York, where the manorial tradition along the river was still vigorous. Yet, at least in the opinion of Noah Webster, there was in general less "affectation of superiority" among the powerful families of that city than in Philadelphia.⁵

Many of these families had broad-lawned suburban houses for the summer, especially on Manhattan Island and beside the Schuylkill, which without achieving a baronial dignity yet compared well with the lesser manor houses of the old

²T. E. V. Smith, *New York in 1789* (New York, 1889), 32; H. M. Lippincott, *Early Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1917), 76; Mrs. St. J. Ravenel, *Charleston, the Place and the People* (New York, 1906), 405-406; Anon., *The Congregation "Beth Elohim"* (Charleston, 1883), 9. The New York post office was in the home of the postmaster until 1827.

³There were 300 carriages in Philadelphia in 1804, *Lit. Mag.*, II, June, 1804.

⁴H. C. Lodge, *Boston* (Boston, 1892), 167.

⁵Only in Philadelphia mansions were people announced at parties; see S. Breck, *Recollections* (Philadelphia, 1877), 202.

country; several can be seen in Fairmount Park today. But by the first years of the nineteenth century such families were discovering the watering place as a summer resort. In 1789 Saratoga Springs consisted of three log cabins hidden in a wilderness, but a dissertation published by a New York doctor in 1793 began the wide-spread advertisement of the virtues of their waters and soon a number of hotels were built.⁶ By 1809, we are assured, "invalids of fashion and opulence" could find at nearby Ballston every luxury they desired.⁷ Originally a resort of the stricken in hope of relief it had developed facilities for recreation and become a center of elegant leisure, so that, in the phrase of the *Salmagundi Papers*, Southern ladies arrived each with the annual produce of a rice plantation in her costume with an occasional competitor from Salem wrapped in the net proceeds of a cargo of whale oil.⁸

Other springs in the state came into vogue,⁹ but they were soon rivalled by those in Virginia. Berkeley Springs could show the airs and graces of a fashionable assembly as well as cure neuralgia, but the Sweet Springs had too many gamblers and the White Sulphur Springs were described in 1817 as a backwoods therapeutic resort as yet without a drawing room; far to the west at Olympia, "the Bath of Kentucky," cards, billiards and horses supplemented the attrac-

⁶"Narrative of Mrs. Dwight", in W. L. Stone, *Reminiscences of Saratoga* (New York, 1880), 22-31; Valentine Seaman, M. D., *Dissertation on the Mineral Waters of Saratoga* (New York, 1793); J. H. French, *Gazetteer of New York State* (Syracuse, 1860), 591-592. In 1789 "we knew nothing of mineral springs and fashionable watering places," S. Breck, *Recollections*, 102.

⁷*American Medical Repository*, XI, 254, XIII, 18.

⁸16th paper, Oct. 15, 1807. See also Daniel Adams, *Geography* (Keene, N. H., 1818).

⁹See Robert Munro, *A Description of the Genesee Country* (New York, 1804) for a description of the Clifton Springs and "those near the head of the river, on top of which floats Seneca oil (petroleum)."

tions of the waters.¹⁰ As early as 1790 valetudinarians from the Southern states and the West Indies were being solicited to summer at Rockaway, where sea-bathing might cleanse and brace the body against debility.¹¹ In America the watering place was the first theater of conspicuous leisure; where everyone was supposed to work leisure could be justified only by the affectation of ill health. It was not until the twenties that summer leisure in itself became respectable, but then, as ever since, the men for the most part enjoyed it only vicariously through their wives and daughters.¹²

When it is remembered that in every other country throughout Christendom certain families enjoyed the distinction of honorific titles, it is not surprising that their American counterparts in the reorganized nation of 1790, whatever their profession, felt a secret envy. Nearly two centuries of American custom were against them and most of the constitutions explicitly forbade such titles of nobility. But the designation of "Lady" might safely be toyed with, especially as some like the two New Yorkers, Lady Kitty Duer and Lady Mary Watts, had a tenuous hereditary claim to it. The president's wife was usually called Lady Washington, at least by high society.¹³ Something, too, should be done for

¹⁰J. K. Paulding, *Letters from the South by a Northern Man* (New York, 1817), II, 237. The hot springs near Harrisonburgh were discovered in 1804; see *Winchester Independent Register*, Nov. 20, 1804; John Baltzell, *Essay on the Mineral Prospects of the Sweet Springs of Virginia* (Baltimore, 1802); F. Cuming, *Tour of the Western Country* (1807), (Cleveland, 1904); J. W. Alexander, *Life of Archibald Alexander* (New York, 1854), 78.

¹¹*N. Y. Magazine*, I, 111.

¹²C. R. Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man (A History of American Life, VI)*, plate III, (b), with note on p. x; Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1912).

¹³As late as 1815 some patriotic ladies of Washington society referred to Mrs. Madison as "Her Majesty"; see Gaillard Hunt, *Life in America One Hundred Years Ago* (N. Y., 1914) 59. The leading literary woman of the day shared her husband's dignity as Mrs. General Warren, the stately wife of the Secretary at War was Mrs. General Knox, and wives of doctors, ministers, judges had

gentlemen. Reporting a reception, the *Gazette of the United States* listed among the guests the ladies of the Most Honorable Mr. Layton and the Most Honorable Mr. Dalton and shortly afterward remarked the presence of the Most Honorable Morris and Lady Morris at the theater.¹⁴ "Mr. Professor Pierson," "Mr. Professor Webber" and the like were hazarded, though, as it proved in this country, quite hopelessly.¹⁵ Perhaps the practice of christening children with middle names, seldom followed before 1790 and, judged by college catalogues, almost the rule forty years later, was prompted first by family pride.¹⁶

Congress solemnly debated the question of a title for the president on the suggestion of Vice President Adams, who was soon to write so wistfully on the general subject in his *Discourses on Davila*. Washington himself was known to favor "His Hightightness the President of the United States and Protector of their Liberties," vaguely reminiscent of aristocratic republics in the Netherlands and England and seeming to go appropriately with his black and yellow chariot, six horse team and white-and-scarlet-liveried servants. The senate wanted some such title for him, but the yeoman representatives were obdurate; the chief executive became in legal usage simply Mr. President, though "His Excellency," the title General Washington had borne during the war, adhered

like designation; but perhaps this was less for display than for convenience, and on such ground the custom persists somewhat, however coldly regarded by "good usage." See, as a good example, Abiel Abbot, *Discourse . . . before the Portsmouth Female Asylum* (Portsmouth, 1807).

¹⁴S. E. Forman, *The Political Activities of Philip Freneau* (Baltimore, 1902), 43, 44.

¹⁵*Medical Repository*, I, 113. "Mr. Professor Everett and his disciple, Mr. Webster . . . , Rufus King to Charles King, January 19, 1824. Rufus King Papers," (N. Y. Hist. Soc.).

¹⁶This is the contention of G. P. Krapp, *The English Language in America* (New York, 1925), I, 212-218, who gives interesting lists. The average of three-name men in the Harvard Catalogues for the 1790's were 20%; in 1830 it was about 70%.

to him and set a precedent as an alternative.¹⁷ Scorched by derision all these politico-social titles withered down to simple "honorable," which, spread over the entire civil list of nation, state, county and city, soon became cheap enough to reassure the most squeamish democrat.

The house which Washington rented was loyally referred to as the palace, to the disquietude of western delegates. They and their sympathizers vehemently disapproved the semi-weekly drawing-rooms of Mrs. Washington, somewhat formally conducted, as tending to give her circle "a supereminency and introductory to the paraphernalia of courts."¹⁸ Through the lenses of their apprehension a reasonable decorum looked like royal pomp; but really Martha Washington quite lacked the lustrous manner of the grand dame and her dignified reserve could oftentimes be explained on the ground that she had nothing in particular to say. Europeans, accustomed to quite different standards, declared themselves astonished at the simple, forthright fashion of government and society in Philadelphia. Thomas Twining was impressed with the plainness of the president's house and noted that a hairdresser lived next door; Joseph Priestly was delighted at the ease with which one gained access to the chief magistrate himself, and wrote an English friend, "Everything is the reverse of what it is with you."¹⁹

The European tradition of aristocracy did persist in America, but not dangerously. It was challenged in 1800 and deposed, at least politically, by 1830. Hereditary privi-

¹⁷William Maclay, *Journal* (New York, 1927), 1-2, 13-14, 21-28, 30-37, 49, 50, 63; R. W. Griswold, *The Republican Court*, 366-368. John Adams, *Works* (Boston, 1851-1856), I, 618; VI, 242. "I freely own that I think decent and moderate titles, or distinctions of office are not only harmless, but useful in society," VIII, 513.

¹⁸Henry Wansey, *An Excursion to the United States* (Salisbury, England, 1798), 112.

¹⁹Thomas Twining, *Travels in America One Hundred Years Ago, 1795-1796* (New York, 1904); E. F. Smith, *Priestley in America* (Philadelphia, 1920), 72.

lege, the engrossment of opportunity, implies a permanently unprivileged class, and this was quite impossible in a country where every man had at the worst a possible alternative in the shape of a western farm. Conspicuous leisure was rarely to be found and was considered a little shameful. "What are you doing now"—that is, how are you earning your living—was the question the old soldiers most often asked of Lafayette when he revisited America.²⁰ An observant writer in 1794 knew of but one "professed 'gentleman', i. e., idle unoccupied person of fortune," in Philadelphia; their time, he said, had not yet come.²¹ Generally speaking, no one long sustained a social prominence upon official income. Indeed, as the old constitution of Pennsylvania clearly stated, Americans believed that whenever an office through increase of fees or otherwise became so profitable as to occasion many to apply for it, the profits ought to be lessened by the legislature.²² Rank and birth, as assets, could not be carried to a poorer market than America.²³ Foreign visitors who said that money alone counted in this country spoke with some exaggeration, but money did mature into prestige faster here than in most places.

²⁰Max Farrand, "Assimilation," *New Republic*, IX, 209 (December 23, 1916).

²¹T. Cooper, *Some Information*, 60, probably referring to William Hamilton of Woodlands; see also Tench Coxe, *A View of the U. S. A.*, chap. XV. It is true that 60 heads of families out of 3,434 were reported as "gentlemen" in one part of Philadelphia in the 1790 census, but doubtless they did not meet Dr. Cooper's definition. Rev. Charles Nisbet, the Scotch president of Dickinson College, complained of the dead level of status in American society. "Few people here know any difference betwixt one man and another." *New York Public Library Bulletin* (May, 1897), 117.

²²Article 36 of the Constitution in force from 1776 to 1790. Hamilton resigned the treasury because he could not support his family on the secretary's salary. Despite theory, some offices did become profitable through fees, as the New York mayoralty, for example, which early in the nineteenth century was worth fifteen thousand dollars annually.

²³William Winterbotham, *Historical, Geographical . . . View of the American United States* (London, 1795), III, 298.

The snobbishness of the fashionable circle was doubtless a little cruel—though it pales beside the real thing as portrayed by Thackeray—and its affectations, in our retrospect, may seem a little absurd. Unfortunately at a dinner party at the dazzling Mrs. William Bingham's, one might hear oaths and stories of a more or less delicate naughtiness, echoing too faithfully the banter of modish tables in Mayfair or in the old Faubourg St. Germain. A Bostonian like H. G. Otis, or a French puritan like Brissot might be startled by the generous revelation of the female form at the routs and salons in New York and Philadelphia.²⁴ At the same time, these coteries in American towns did a valuable service by conserving the arts of deportment in a society which might easily have forgotten them. They eagerly imported such arts as well; they and their imitators provided innumerable readers of Lord Chesterfield. That distinguished mentor's writings had been reprinted in America several times before 1790 and formed the central canon of etiquette for over half a century after. For example, the curious reader having marked the exhortations to simple probity throughout the first half of the *Young Man's Own Book*, published in 1842, suddenly comes upon advice to flatter clergymen, to be very officious in picking up ladies' gloves, and the like; the compiler had set forth once again, and without acknowledgment, the familiar *Principles of Politeness*. The polished meanness of the noble earl was plentifully satirized, but it was really a matter of personal interest to many of our fellow countrymen to read that eating principally with a knife

²⁴S. E. Morison, *Harrison Gray Otis* (Boston, 1915), I, 135, 137; J. P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America* (Boston, 1797), 94. For pictures of "The Social Background," see the sparkling chapter so entitled in C. G. Bowers' *Jefferson and Hamilton* (Boston, 1925), and Edith T. Sale, *Old Time Belles and Cavaliers* (Philadelphia, 1912), 99-171.

while using a fork to pick one's teeth and raking the mouth with a finger were to be deprecated.²⁵

In some particulars standards of polite behavior were different from those in England, notably in the use of tobacco. "No gentleman in Europe even smokes except by way of a frolic," we are told; William Pinkney, sent across in 1800 on a diplomatic mission had to puff the cigars that he had taken with him furtively behind the closed doors of his London apartment so as not to prejudice his reputation.²⁶ The Spanish cigar which had been introduced into the United States shortly before 1790, despite warnings from some physicians, gained vogue rapidly, being more convenient than the pipe; about fifteen years later Americans were annually importing a hundred and forty thousand dollars' worth.²⁷ No one lost caste, even in the cities, by the public chewing of tobacco, though a writer on *Clerical Manners* suggested to clergymen that spitting the juice on parishioners' carpets might worry the fastidious, and particularly questioned the propriety of spitting in church.²⁸ With cigars, after the ladies had left the dinner table, came the best port, madeira and brandy that the host could furnish; almost no American

²⁵E. g., Lord Chesterfield, *Letters to His Son* (New York, 1775); *Principles of Politeness* (New Haven, 1789, and Boston, 1791); *The American Chesterfield* (Phila., 1827); A. Howard, ed., *Beauties of Chesterfield* (Boston, 1828); Anon., *The Young Man's Own Book* (Phila., 1842); the character of "Dimple" in Royall Tyler, *The Contrast* (New York, 1787).

²⁶*The American Chesterfield*, 202; Rev. William Pinkney, *Life of William Pinkney* (New York, 1853), 35.

²⁷*Medical Repository*, XI, 329. J. T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1878), 267-268, and J. F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (Phila., 1857), are wrong in believing that cigars were first smoked in American streets to ward off yellow fever. Brissot mentions them in New York in 1787. See Benjamin Waterhouse *Cautions to Young Persons . . . Shewing the Evil Tendency of the Use of Tobacco Upon Young Persons; more especially the Pernicious Effects of Smoking Segars . . .* (Cambridge, Mass., 1805).

²⁸Samuel Miller, *Letters on Clerical Manners and Habits* (New York, 1827), 83.

at the end of the eighteenth century scrupled a moderate quantum of good liquor, even among the "middle class."²⁹

The gentleman of 1790 could still evidence his status by his dress. In all the coastal towns he followed the same fashions,³⁰ imported like his manners. Traveling Frenchmen recognized the Paris modes of two years back slightly modified by a year's sojourn in London.³¹ The fashionable waited for each ship that might bring new styles with an avidity like that of the half-famished Jamestown settlers some two centuries before looking for supplies. Scarcely was a landing made before they hurried to the tailor and the milliner.³² For design they found mere pictures insufficient and dressed dolls were sent across as carriers of the precious late conceits.³³ "Many hats," said Professor Adam Seybert in 1809, "are annually fabricated in the United States and labelled as of English manufacture, which would not be worn if this harmless deception were not practiced."³⁴ People bought imported clothes partly under the impression that goods worth sending three thousand miles were probably better than home products, and partly because they actually saw superiorities in articles fashioned in the European tradition of highly specialized skill; but to a large degree, especially with respect to style, their purchases reflected mere colonialism. Such deference had the boundless scorn of

²⁹Between 1790 and 1794 the importation of wine increased from about 3½ million gallons to 5½ million, whether from the larger prosperity of the country or from the coming of French merchant-importers. Liancourt, *Travels*, II, 570.

³⁰Edward Hooker, "Diary," in Am. Hist., Assoc. Report for 1896, I, 856.

³¹Count Volney, *A View of the Climate . . .* (London, 1804), 223-224; David Ramsay, *History of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1809), 409.

³²See Tyler's *Contrast*, Act I, scene i.

³³J. D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*.

³⁴*Oration Before the Philadelphia Mechanics* (Phila., 1809), 14.

nationalists like Noah Webster, who wanted to complete our independence.³⁵

Clothes of bright hue or delicate fabric, says a philosopher,³⁶ are a sign of leisure; they are not "practical" for work. Though, as has been shown, American gentlemen had far less exemption from labor than those whose styles they imitated, they too paraded color as a badge of class. Scarlet coats lined the aisles of the Brattle Street church in puritan Boston as well as the theater boxes in cosmopolitan New York. It was a day when gentlemen, if occasion suited, liked to sit astride their chairs with elbows on the backs so that their coats might hang unwrinkled, and some, at least, let themselves into their white, close-fitting doe-skin breeches by stepping from a little platform to which the fragile articles were attached by hooks.³⁷ Swords had disappeared from civil dress, but sword-canes were popular with the buckish,³⁸ a transition to the more peaceful walking stick that still advertises the hand without employment. Wigs were giving way, except among the clergy, but the gentleman wore his hair long, even if not powdered, and tied it in a queue. Of the fifty-six members of the New York legislature in 1798, all but five were so depicted.³⁹ That this style was costly—a hairdresser in Philadelphia cost twenty-two shillings a month⁴⁰—made those cherish it the longer who wished to evidence their standing in society. Actors and investment

³⁵ *A Collection of Essays and Fugitive Writings* (Boston, 1790), 91.

³⁶ T. Veblen, *Theory of a Leisure Class*.

³⁷ Alice M. Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America* (New York, 1903), II, 408-409.

³⁸ V. L. Collins, *John Witherspoon*, 154. Washington at his own levees wore a sword in a white scabbard and carried his cocked hat; see R. W. Griswold, *Republican Court*, 325-326.

³⁹ See illustrations inserted between pages 1023 and 1024 in *New York Documentary History* (1849-1851), IV.

⁴⁰ J. P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America*, 133.

agents, using their appearance as a means to credit, added extra touches to their costume.⁴¹

Suddenly all this was challenged. Startled into fear by the rise of the workers, the Paris *beau monde* disguised itself in workmen's pantaloons by way of protective coloring; the new fashion spread, partly by the authority of the place of its origin and partly because it symbolized an equalitarian tendency which was to be widely accepted, with acclaim or with resignation. When in 1804 the government lists revealed that two patents had been granted for galluses to hold up trousers another step in the history of democracy had been registered.⁴² Irreconcilable old gentlemen refused to give up the traditional costume even in the thirties, but James Monroe was the last president to wear small-clothes, silk stockings, silver buckles and a queue.⁴³

In women's clothes there was a like reaction toward simplicity, a reflection of the romantic movement. The mountainous head dress reared on wire cage and cushions and harnessed together with streamers was now cleared away; girls clipped their tresses almost to the scalp, heavily pomading the short ends about the face. "At the assembly," wrote a miss of 1798, "I was quite ashamed of my head, for nobody had long hair."⁴⁴ Their new light muslin dresses, cut low and sleeveless and draping naturally over the figure, aroused no little criticism as being ridiculous imitations unsuited to our winter climate; the omission of due clothing and conse-

⁴¹Arthur Hornblow, *History of the Theatre in America* (Phila., 1919), I, 195-196; S. Breck, *Recollections*, 206.

⁴²M. D. Leggett, comp., *Subject Matter Index of Patents for Inventions* (Washington, 1874), 1503. The old form of the word was "gallows."

⁴³D. C. Gilman, *James Monroe* (Boston, 1892), 182. Noah Webster was one such incorrigible conservative.

⁴⁴Elizabeth Southgate (Bowne), *A Girl's Life Eighty Years Ago* (New York, 1888), p. 23. On the older headdress see Abbé Robin, *New Travels Through North America* (Phila., 1783), 14. The transition back to long hair was eased by wigs and turbans.

quent exposure to the night air was certain to lead to consumption. "Think of their poor red elbows and arms," when inside without their tippets!⁴⁵ A poet admonished them:⁴⁶

Full many a beauty blasted in her bloom
This stripping mania hurries to her tomb.

Also, they were shrouded from head to foot in combustibles, a disadvantage in those days of open hearths and candles.⁴⁷ Something, though not much, was said about immodesty.

The new dress had, too, its enthusiastic advocates, who were glad to see the old whalebones and heavy petticoats give place to simpler garments, whereby the muscles had free play and beauty could be "ascertained by the unequivocal testimony of symmetry and nature."⁴⁸ But if there is one lesson to be drawn from the history of fashion it is that nothing survives simply because it is hygienic, cheap, comfortable or graceful. The conservatives who had sighed for the return of silks and stuffs and calimancoes were to see them all again, if fortune gave them but a few more years. By the middle of the second decade of the nineteenth century the style was veering back. Curiously enough, the author of the heroic couplet we have quoted, when he came to publish it in 1818, found that the "stripping mania" seemed to be nearly over, but being a sagacious man he let it stand, explaining that the cycle would doubtless come around again to give it point.⁴⁹ By the twenties doctors were again inveighing against stays, busks and stomach boards,⁵⁰ and a new genera-

⁴⁵*Lit. Mag. and Am. Reg.*, I(1803), 74-75, IV (1805), 95, VI, (1806), Doctors urged flannel underclothes upon the females, but apparently the females would not wear them.

⁴⁶T. G. Fessenden, *The Lady's Monitor* (Bellows Falls, 1818), 65.

⁴⁷*Lit. Mag.* IV, 95.

⁴⁸*Lit. Mag.*, II, 183.

⁴⁹T. G. Fessenden, *The Lady's Monitor*, viii.

⁵⁰*Boston Medical Intelligencer*, (July 5, 1825, and April 18, 1826).

tion of conservatives spoke pensively of the good old days of muslin.

Honest good will, the soul of courtesy, may be found in the "natural man," but its dramatization in the amenities of urbane society requires study and, by this implication, models. Suddenly in the early nineties the explosion in revolutionary Europe threw the most perfect patterns into our very midst. If in times past refugees had fled here to escape the exactions of an aristocracy, now came aristocrats escaping from the fury of the mob. The ferocious race rebellion in Santo Domingo, begun in 1791 by Negroes in the interest of liberty, fraternity and equality, sent thousands of French colonists to our shores. In their first mad rush for safety the planters found a ship clearing for Norfolk; following this vanguard others came to that Virginia port in such numbers as to raise land prices. Charleston was nearer and received more, but probably Baltimore was affected most by the coming of fifteen hundred in a single month, notwithstanding the larger numbers which in time landed at New York and Philadelphia. Organized relief which had had its tentative beginnings in Colonial days, notably in the donations to Boston when isolated by the Port Bill of 1774, and which was constantly to add to America's good reputation throughout the coming decades, met its first important challenge in caring for these fugitives. Accustomed to luxury and refinement they arrived, many of them, with scarcely more than the clothes they wore and a meager English word or two to ask for shelter. Congress, with fine disdain of constitutional limitations, voted fifteen thousand dollars, and states followed this example; clothing, furniture and tools were given, whole families were taken in as guests in American homes for as long as two years, and unnumbered individuals gave aid to destitution where they saw it. Important precedents were set when public subscription built up funds to be administered by committees; a grateful exile estimated that the succor from this

source alone amounted to near a quarter of a million dollars.⁵¹ Hospitality was more severely tested by the shiploads of French royalists who a few years later saved their lives but not their property by emigrating from a homeland enveloped in the Terror. The total number has been estimated all the way from ten to twenty-five thousand.⁵²

Among them were many of great distinction. Swinging about an inquiring spotlight, one sees Louis Philippe, who later would be king, teaching French in a suburb of New York or entertaining at dinner a few guests seated on his straw bed over a Philadelphia barroom; the Duc de Liancourt, lately the liberal leader of the French nobility with over half a million francs a year, now boarding with a barber, but obliged for want of extra pence to shave himself; the Vicompte de Noailles, who had been richer than the duke, now beginning another fortune in two furnished rooms, as he casts up the accounts of his Pennsylvania tract, appropriately named Asylum, whereupon are "sundry ci-divant French Barons, Counts & Marquises, employed in the labors of Agriculture"; Count Value, who had owned a large West India plantation, now teaching dancing and deportment to the youth of Hartford; a French admiral now journeyman to a Baltimore potter; a marquis set up as a Philadelphia whitesmith. There were others a little better furnished, like Count Talleyrand, and some like Chateaubriand, Volney and young Jerome Bonaparte, who can hardly be classified as refugees. But peace and security were long delayed, and others came evading one oppression or another; Du Pont de Nemours, in 1799; General Moreau, in 1804, and the Napoleonic exiles after 1814. King Joseph, Chaumont, the treas-

⁵¹Liancourt, III, 33-35; *New York Daily Advertiser*, July 14, August 7, 1793; J. T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, 266; Richardson and Bennett, *Baltimore*, 89; Jane Campbell, "San Domingo Refugees in Philadelphia," in Am. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia, *Records*, XXVIII, 118.

⁵²H. M. Jones, *America and French Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1927), 134.

urer, and Marshal Grouchy,—these may stand as examples. "Have we not jostled ex-kings and ex-empresses and ex-nobles in Broadway," asked a reminiscent writer in 1829, with a trace of extravagance, "trod on the toes of exotic naturalists, Waterloo marshals, and great foreign academicians; and seen more heroes and generals all over town than would fill a new Iliad?"⁵³

Some, as has been noted, gained a livelihood by the formal teaching of their culture to those who could afford to pay, instructing in the arts of dancing, music, and French conversation. The advertisements in such a paper as the New York *Gazette Française* show a surprising number of such teachers. But much of French influence was less direct, though not less effective. An English traveler, with some acerbity, remarked that the revolution in France had produced a revolution in the walk of the Philadelphia young ladies. When it "drove so many of the Gallic damsels to the banks of the Delaware, the American girls blushed at their own awkwardness; and each strove to copy that swimming air, that nonchalance, that ease and apparent unconsciousness of being observed, which characterized the French young ladies as they passed through the streets."⁵⁴ The nine or ten French newspapers maintained for the émigrés at one time or another during the nineties doubtless found some native readers who desired to increase acquaintance with the language; certainly some such parents sent their children to the French schools

⁵³"Francis Herbert" (William Cullen Bryant and Gulian C. Verplanck), *The Talisman, or Reminiscences of New York* (New York, 1827-28, 3 vols.), II, 317. There is a good summary of the situation of the émigrés in Charles Nisbet to Charles Warren, May 18, 1797, in Nisbet MSS., New York Public Library. See also S. G. Goodrich, *Recollections*, II, 61-62; J. S. Reeves, *The Napoleonic Exiles in America* (J. H. U., Series, XXIII, Nos. 9-10, Baltimore, 1905), and H. M. Jones, *passim*. Louis Philippe's two brothers were with him.

⁵⁴John Davis, *Travels . . . in the United States, 1798-1802* (London, 1803), 322-323.

maintained in Philadelphia and New York.⁵⁵ French books were to be had more easily at such establishments as that set up by Moreau de Saint Méry.⁵⁶ With the gentry came professionals whose interests were identified with them. French cooks had been known before, but never a great artist like Brillat-Savarin, who later recorded his American experiences in his *Physiologie du Goût*; vegetables found larger place on American menus, some like artichokes and okra, appearing for the first time, and under like auspices came yeast to supplant the old dough-leaven previously in general use. Confectioners and caterers wrought miracles in pastry, ices and blanc mange. By the early thirties a competent observer could say that "American cookery has somewhat engrafted the French upon the English."⁵⁷ The word restaurant was naturalized and at such places came the innovation of orchestral music as an accompaniment to eating. Less dubious boons were the numerous concerts and the first rendering of opera in a foreign language.⁵⁸ Certain merchants, like Stephen Jumel, who had come as émigrés, made fortunes in the importation of French merchandise, mostly articles of

⁵⁵H. M. Jones, *America and French Culture*, 197-198; J. G. Rosen-garten, *French Colonists and Exiles in the U. S.* (Phila., 1907), 87, 177-178; W. H. Bennet, *Catholic Footsteps in Old New York* (New York, 1909), 447. *The Courrier des Etats Unis*, still flourishing, was founded in 1828.

⁵⁶[S. L. Mims, ed.] M. L. E. Moreau de Saint Méry, *Voyages Aux Etats-Unis . . .* (New Haven, 1913), introduction.

⁵⁷Francis Lieber, *The Stranger in America* (New York, 1835), I, 226, cited in Jones' account in *America and French Culture*, 300-309; "Francis Herbert." See also F. Baldensperger, "Le séjour de Brillat-Savarin aux états unis," *Revue de la Littérature Comparée*, II, 94-95.

⁵⁸O. G. Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America* (Leipzig, 1907), 188, 227. Julien, in Boston, called his place a Restorator, as a literal translation of restaurant before the word itself was adopted; see S. A. Drake.

luxury, such as wines, fine fabrics, jewelry, gold watches and gilt frames for mirrors and pictures.⁵⁹

The influence of the émigrés impressed polite society, but it was not universally approved. The formalities of the new cotillions might be innocent enough, but when, later in the twenties, Mme. Brugiere gave the first masquerade ball in New York City, she realized the worst fears that moralists had worried over for a quarter of a century. Long since, some writers had complained of the "irruption of the pernicious morals of the French refugees" and bewailed that "luxury had made a serious breach in the deliberate gravity of Republican America."⁶⁰ They may have been correct in saying that Americans would not wisely exchange their habits and view of life for those of the French, if such a thing were possible, but no such dilemma was presented; rather, a small class of Americans acquired from the French, now and later, certain refinements of great value without sacrificing any essential quality of the American character.

The French Revolution accounted, too, for another group of gentry immigrants, who though small in number were not without influence. Irish nationalist leaders, when desperate in discouragement, had emigrated from time to time to the French West Indies or to France itself. But French soil was none too safe when the Terror triumphed, and these "wild geese" now took their flight to the American continent, especially to the southern towns; the failure of the United Irishmen's final stroke started many more, one ship for example, landing at Norfolk in 1798 with over four hundred such passengers, mostly persons of property. Some, like the leading French refugees, returned home when political skies

⁵⁹On French importers who became rich see J. A. Scoville ("Walter Barrett"), *Old Merchants of New York*, V, 351-353, and Abraham Ritter, *Philadelphia Merchants* (Phila., 1860), 23, 71, 108, 198; also W. H. Shelton, *The Jumel Mansion* (Boston, 1916). The greatest of them, Stephen Girard, came before the émigrés.

⁶⁰Lit. Mag., II, 219, 340; [J. A. Scoville] "Walter Barrett," *Old Merchants of New York* (New York, 1885), I, 368-377.

grew clearer, but others stayed to win high places in their professions.⁶¹ Like the French, too, as a whole they added prestige to the Catholic Church. Unlike them, they found an important function as interpreters between their peasant compatriots, who soon began to come in great numbers, and the older Americans.

European émigrés and travellers were surprised to see how generally respectable in America was ordinary labor,—for example, how many cultivated women did their own work. Americans themselves made it a matter of pride. "No country of the same wealth, intelligence and civilization," remarked Tench Coxe, the economist, "has so few menial servants (strictly speaking) in the families of the greatest property." But this was due, at least in part, to the fact that servants were so difficult to get. The competition in this country was not for the place, but for the service.⁶² It was to meet this situation, where every free man had opportunities to work for himself, that the early settlers had introduced the institution of Negro slavery. This, of course, remained the dominant labor system of the South, but it was disappearing elsewhere. Only one out of fourteen slaves, according to the first census, was held north of Maryland and Delaware. Vermont, Massachusetts and New Hampshire had forbidden slavery in their constitutions and one by one the other northern states followed with laws for gradual emancipa-

⁶¹E. g., Thomas Addis Emmett and Counsellor William Sampson, the lawyers; William J. MacNevin, the physician; Robert Adrian, professor of mathematics at Columbia, and Bernard MacMahon, the Philadelphia horticulturist. Harmon Blennerhassett's island mansion on the Ohio was the scene of Burr's scheme for empire. Like the Frenchmen they sometimes taught dancing; see M. M. Bagg, *Pioneers of Utica* (Utica, 1877), 137-142, 376-379. Some went first to Newfoundland where they unsuccessfully tried raising a rebellion. For a general account see E. O. Condon, "Irish Immigration to the United States after 1790," *American Irish Hist. Soc. Journal*, IV, 84-89.

⁶²Tench Coxe, *A View of the U. S. A.* (Phila., 1794), chap. XV; T. Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York* (New Haven, 1822), IV, 349.

tion.⁶³ The institution had been strongest in New York where a seventh of the families in the state had such provision for household service, but there, as well as elsewhere in the region, the movement for emancipation aroused no great controversy and was largely carried through by the slave-owners themselves or those connected with them. John Jay was the first president of the manumission society, and Alexander Hamilton was the second. Most of the blacks, especially the older among them, remained in the households of their former masters, following the family to church, celebrating their old "Pinkster" holiday, after the final date of 1827 just as before, hardly conscious that their legal status had changed. In New Jersey the process was likewise slow and peaceful, a few remaining in bondage until after 1860.⁶⁴ Pennsylvania was called the paradise of the blacks;⁶⁵ except for an occasional outbreak, such as that at York in 1793, the relations were certainly as friendly as in the states to the east, and the blacks for the most part continued in domestic service.⁶⁶ As a support of other people's leisure the Negro at the beginning of the nineteenth century was a considerable, though a diminishing reliance in the North. We

⁶³Pennsylvania in 1780, Rhode Island and Connecticut in 1784, New York in 1799 and New Jersey in 1804. See Lorenzo J. Greene, in *Journal of Negro History*, XIV, No. 2, (April, 1929).

⁶⁴E. V. Morgan, "Slavery in New York," Am. Hist. Assoc. *Papers*, V, 337-380; F. G. Mather, "Slavery in the Colony of New York," *Mag. of Am. Hist.*, IX, 408; A. J. Northrup, "Slavery in New York," New York State Library *Bull.*, *History*, No. 4, 1900; D. R. Fox, "The Negro Vote in Old New York," *Pol. Sci. Quart.*, XXXII, 252-275; C. F. Hoffman, *The Pioneers of New York* (New York, 1848), 30-33; H. I. Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man (A History of American Life)*, I). There were 21,000 slaves in New York and 12,000 in New Jersey. See H. S. Cooley, *A Study of Slavery in New Jersey* (J. H. U. *Series*, XIV, Nos. ix-x, 19, 26, 30, 31); A. Q. Keasby, "Slavery in New Jersey," *New Jersey Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 3rd series, IV, 90-96, V, 12-19, 79-85.

⁶⁵S. Breck, *Recollections*, 107.

⁶⁶When they left service it was thought their character deteriorated; E. P. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania* (Washington, 1910), 129, 135, 145, 152.

may say in passing that though freedom and philanthropy were helping him he had yet a long fight to win his present status; he was still at the base of society; the comedian in the most successful American play of the twenties, to express contempt for one course of action or another, says again and again, "I wouldn't serve a Negro so!"⁶⁷

Older even than slavery as an American means of regimenting labor in the household, as well as elsewhere, was the system of indenturing immigrants;⁶⁸ this, too, was rapidly passing, but by force of circumstances rather than by law. Immigration, itself had been cut to a low figure during the Revolutionary War, and as we have seen recovered no impressive volume till after 1815. The revolutionary philosophy, too, had done its work and made the unfree white man seem an anomaly. The system lingered longest in Pennsylvania, but there the last act to govern such contracts was passed in 1818 and the last trace of their existence is dated in 1831; they had disappeared in Maryland and New Jersey a little before.⁶⁹ Another source of household labor, though in no great quantity, was the bound apprentice, whose origins date back to the days of Queen Elizabeth. In the Southern states, where slavery tended to suggest protection to the white, it was usually provided that a pauper child apprenticed by the authorities to a master had to be taught a trade, but in the North a provision for "other useful employment" legally made a household drudge out of an orphan girl throughout

⁶⁷Samuel Woodworth, *The Forest Rose*; D. R. Fox, "Negro Vote," notes, 252-256, on philanthropy.

⁶⁸See A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox, ed. *A History of American Life*, II, III, IV, index under "Indented or Indentured Servants" and "Labor."

⁶⁹English ships had been forbidden to carry indentured servants in 1785, but the act was ill enforced. C. A. Herrick, *White Servitude in Pennsylvania* (Phila., 1926), 254, 266; "Letters of Phineas Bond," Am. Hist. Soc. Report for 1897, 455.

most of the nineteenth century.⁷⁰ Philanthropic women, especially in New England organized "female asylums," where orphans dressed in neat blue uniforms were schooled up to the age of ten, after which they were bound out in pious households for a period of eight years.⁷¹ But the hospitality of pretentious houses in the northern towns, depended, for the most part, on free service, black or, more generally, white.

Human service seemed a major necessity to those of that generation who lived at all spaciously for the household was a far more extensive enterprise than it is today. It is true that well-to-do towns-people depended upon shops much more than those isolated in the country, but even in town houses there was likely to be a spinning-room, and soap, candles, carpets and other furnishings were largely made at home. When Mrs. Adams moved into the new President's House in Washington she found thirty servants necessary. The great East Room, for example, called for a hundred and eighty lights. Each candle had to be made by hand, which was a considerable operation; an ordinary recipe for candles required forty pounds of tallow.⁷² Some one must constantly stand by with snuffers; some one must clean away the sputter-

⁷⁰Elizabeth L. Otey, Senate Document 645, 61st Session. Vol. VI, *The Beginnings of Child Labor Legislation in Certain States* (Washington, 1910); A. Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America (A History of American Life, VIII)*, 329.

⁷¹Joseph Eckley, *Discourse delivered before the members of the Boston Female Asylum* (Boston, 1802), 2, 13-14; *Charter and Constitution of the Providence Female Asylum* (Providence, 1802); Abiel Abbot, *Sermon before the Portsmouth Female Asylum* (Portsmouth, 1807); T. Dwight, *Travels*, III, 464; Moses Stuart, *Sermon before the Female Charitable Society* (Andover, 1815), 18-19, 23, 25, etc.

⁷²The whole recipe is as follows: Dissolve 25 lbs. of beef tallow and 15 lbs. of mutton tallow in a copper or brass vessel, adding 20 lbs. of water. With this mix 1½ qts. of brandy, 5 oz. of cream of tartar, 5 oz. of sal ammoniac; 5 oz. of salt of tartar, 2 oz. of dry, clean potash. Cake and then cut up into slivers to whiten in the air. Make wicks of

wax. Some one must pump the water by hand and carry it to all the bedrooms. Some one must carry all the oak and hickory to feed the big voracious fire places on which depended the achievement of a tolerable temperature; some one must carry out the ashes; some one must be ready with the dust cloth to wipe away the dust that flew from the hearth about the room.

The hearth presented other serious service problems besides that of fuel supply. The women must keep the space between the backlog and the forestick well filled with burning small-wood. A generation accustomed to aluminum utensils would quake before the challenge of brass and copper pots and heavy iron pans and kettles, which had to be set on trivets or lifted to the sooty pothooks and notched trammels hanging from the crane or the less accessible crossbar bridging the chimney above the fire. There were spits to turn and innumerable racks and grills to keep serviceably clean. Building a fire in the deep, shaft-like oven at the side, then raking out the embers when it had heated well the surrounding bricks, then shoving in the bread loaves on the long board, all this was not so easy as telephoning to the bakery. It was not possible then for a young hostess resplendent in a dinner dress gaily to transfer from the electric range to a decorated table the concoctions she had poured not long since out of tin cans and paper packages; no one could wear a dinner dress unless there was a servant in the kitchen.

The transition to the box stove, especially that burning coal, which was well under way in 1830, was an important step in the emancipation of women, and not alone in lightening the drudgery of cooking. It became possible to heat rooms and not merely an area about the hearth, even to heat

the best cotton; steep these in wine and wax them. Then pour the heated tallow on them in the moulds. From J. B. Bordeley, *Essays and Notes in Husbandry and Rural Affairs* (Phila., 1799), 469-470. See Helen Harcourt, "Early Days of the White House," *Americana*. March, 1911, 313-314.

considerable portions of the house, a development to be completed a half-century later with the furnace; modern plumbing became practicable under a steady temperature and the labors of the upstairs servant correspondingly reduced.⁷³ Few phenomena at the beginning of the nineteenth century seem more impressive to the modern reader than the immense effort which women had to make to "keep house" in those days. There was little leisure for self cultivation unless one could call upon a servant.

Large establishments maintained a rather imposing retinue. When Washington set up as president in New York he had eighteen house servants, seven of them slaves and the others white. Five of the latter had monthly stipends of seven dollars, besides their liveries which cost twenty-nine dollars each; three women were content with five dollars; a house-keeper with eight, a valet with thirteen and a half, and a steward with twenty-five. Jefferson living more simply as secretary of state in Philadelphia, had six servants.⁷⁴ The president's wage scale was about normal, though in New England where spinster aunts and daughters played their versatile and heavy rôles in more modest households and thus reduced the demand for servants, a dollar a week was usually considered sufficient.⁷⁵ But the servant was coming

⁷³ *Experienced American Housekeeper* (New York, 1823) for recipes calling for the stove; *Medical Repository*, ix 96-97; Jeremiah Dwyer in Depew's *One Hundred Years of American Commerce*, II, 257; Edward Parrish, in *Am. Journ. of Pharmacy*, XLI, 107; C. R. Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man (A History of American Life)*, VI, 98-99. The first American flush closet was patented in 1833, though patents became numerous only in the time of the next generation; M. D. Leggett, compiler, *Subject Matter Index of Patents for Inventions* (Washington, 1874), 1665.

⁷⁴ W. E. Woodward, *George Washington, the Image and the Man* (New York, 1926), 433; Anne H. Wharton, *Salons, Colonial and Republican* (Phila., 1900), 109.

⁷⁵ A. W. Calhoun, *Social History of the American Family* (Cleveland, 1917-1919), II, 147.

to demand something beside money,—a distinctly higher social status than servants had enjoyed before.

With the passing of the indenture the social chasm narrowed. The first stage in the history of domestic service had closed and the second, a democratic period, was ushered in, to be followed in the fifties by a third, when with new immigration the advent of large numbers of servants speaking English with difficulty if at all, somewhat restored the distance familiar in the eighteenth century. Throughout the democratic period the house-workers resented the word "servant" and desired to be known as "help," suggesting a temporary and good-natured cooperation. The "help" was usually of the same nationality, locality and religion as the rest of the household and in families outside the aristocratic tradition, it seemed natural to invite the waiting woman to the common table. Likewise there were "employers" but few masters.⁷⁶ "If you call at the door of any man," wrote the Englishman Richard Parkinson in disgust, "and ask the servant if his master is at home, he will say 'Master! I have no master; do you mean Mr. Such-an one?' that is, the man he serves."⁷⁷

There was a similar aversion to anything like a uniform, the prejudice deepening as one went northward into New England. William Cobbett said that in America a servant would not wear a livery any more than he would wear a halter around his neck;⁷⁸ it would forfeit the status of quasi-equality; it would seem that the wearer belonged to a permanent order. Miss Martineau declares she saw no servants in livery throughout her American travels; this seems hard to credit, though possibly they were fewer in the thirties than

⁷⁶ Lucy M. Salmon, *Domestic Service* (New York, 1897), 54-60.

⁷⁷ See comment in *Literary Magazine*, V. 222; also *The Contrast*, act 1, scene 2.

⁷⁸ *A Year's Residence in the United States* (New York, 1817), 201; see also T. C. Grattan, *Civilized America*, I, 97.

they had been forty years before.⁷⁹ However scanty the American domestic's knowledge of history he vaguely felt that here was a survival of the feudal system, a system of fixed status in conflict with the fluidity of American life,—and he was right. If Henry VII was well-advised that the uniformed retainers of a lord challenged the all-embracing sovereignty of the king, the American was correct in thinking them a challenge to the sovereignty of the common man. The phenomenon of the contented intelligent servant so constantly encountered in the old country, here was rare indeed. English servants who crossed the sea were then, as to some extent they are today, confused and irritated by the contempt of people whose personal cultivation was inferior to their own.⁸⁰ They were lonesome for like-minded company; few women and fewer men studied to perfect themselves in domestic service as a permanent calling, because, in contrast with the state of England, there were openings to so many other callings which led one higher.

The difficulty of hiring or cajoling⁸¹ women into this permanent status was increased about 1807 when to the opportunities held out by the farming bachelor in search of a partner were added those offered by the manufacturer, especially in the textile mill. But machines for spinning and weaving, while they lured away the servants, at the same time made them less necessary in the household. There was no like industrialization of cooking as yet. By 1830, it is true, François Appert's principles of sealing under heat, discovered in 1795, had been introduced in New York and Boston in a small way and in 1825 patents had been granted to two men who had been so preserving salmon, lobsters and oysters in

⁷⁹Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*, 2 vols. (New York, 1837), II, 254; *Life . . . of Manasseh Cutler*, I, 295-296.

⁸⁰Jane L. Mesick, *British Travelers* (New York, 1922), 38.

⁸¹For attempts to entice servants into permanent tenure, see the *Constitution of the Society for the Encouragement of Faithful Domestic* (Phila., 1829), and the same for New York (1829).

sealed containers, but the great American canning industry, with its prepared soups, meats, vegetables and fruits, was to come many years later under the necessities of the Civil War.⁸²

The American wife finding help hard to get, and being unable as yet to bring home a dinner half-prepared from the shops, more and more succumbed to the seductions of the boarding house. "Boarding-house life," to quote a contemporary, "has been rendered compulsory by the scarcity of labor—the difficulty of obtaining domestic service"⁸³ It is said that there were three hundred and thirty such establishments in New York in 1789.⁸⁴ The boarding house developed into the residence hotel, though in the course of time there was a reaction, wholesome as far as it went, to the small housekeeping flat where maid-service was scarcely needed or, as was the case with larger apartments, cut to a minimum.⁸⁵ It may be hazarded that with all the increase in wealth possibly no greater proportion of American families today

⁸²On Appert, who is variously cited as François, Nicolas or Charles, the best account in English is by K. G. Bitting in Anon., ed. *A Complete Course in Canning* (Baltimore, 1924), 9-22. After his book (1810) brought him a 12,000 franc prize his methods were widely copied. Ezra Daggett and Thomas Kensett, the patentees mentioned above, who had probably picked up the technique in England, had started canning in New York in 1819. William Underwood and Charles Mitchell started in Boston in 1820, the Underwood firm still existing. Corn was canned for market in 1847. See G. C. Butz, *Canning of Fruits and Vegetables*. Pennsylvania Dept. of Agric. Bull., No. 91, (Harrisburg, 1902), 11-12; F. R. Corbett, *Canned Foods* (Teachers College, Columbia University, 1915), 3; A. M. Bitting and K. G. Bitting, *Canning and How to Use Canned Foods* (Washington, 1910); T. Wilson, *Notes on Canned Goods* (Washington, 1870), 1-2.

⁸³Martineau, II, 245. A. W. Calhoun, *American Family*, II, 238, cites the testimony of fourteen travelers and others on this point.

⁸⁴Hiram Hitchcock in Depew's *One Hundred Years*, I, 150.

⁸⁵Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America (A History of American Life)*, VIII, 208.

employ such service than did in 1800;⁸⁶ this element in caste distinction has not developed.

In fact, the fears that impressed the nervous at the end of the eighteenth century that the snobs would in some way prevent the extension of equal opportunity to all Americans seem to have been groundless. The snobs continued to exist even to our day,—and as we have tried to show, somewhat to our benefit.

⁸⁶Prof. B. R. Andrews in *The Golden Book*, IX, No. 49, January, 1929), 89, says today approximately 5% of American families employ servants in the household.

THE MARKET STREET BRIDGES* AT WILKES-BARRE, PA.

A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, OCT. 26, 1929.

BY CONSTANCE REYNOLDS

"Of the... landmarks of old Wilkes-Barré, none, perhaps, furnishes data for a more interesting sketch than does the bridge spanning the Susquehanna River at the foot of West Market street," Mr. F. C. Johnson has said in his Historical Record. "Its history begins with the beginning" of the nineteenth century "and it is a history of long discouragement, earnest struggle and final triumph. Wilkes-Barré was but a small borough of meagre population and limited resources."¹ There were then but one or two stores and a group of houses, fewer in number than many of the present nearby country villages. Wilkes-Barré was much more a series of farms, than a city or town. The fertile green valley, with the river winding through the middle of it, stretched as far as the eye could reach, unbroken by mine shafts, collieries, tall buildings, paved streets, noise or bustle. Cows grazed in the wooded pasture that is now the River Common. Buggies and farm wagons would sink to the hub in the mud of River street when the spring thaw came. It was a three day drive to Easton, a trip taken by only the adventuresome when absolutely necessary. The morning mail was unheard of. It took seven days for a letter to reach New York, and it was an event to be shared with the neighbors when one did receive a letter. There was no such thing as a newspaper, telephone or automobile; no electricity, tractors or furnaces. Wilkes-Barré was a frontier community. But here is the notable fact. Its citizens were a progressive,

* I wish to express my thanks and appreciation to Miss Frances Dorrance for assistance, suggestions and criticism; to Miss Ernestine Kaehlin of the Wyoming Valley Historical and Geological Society for her help; and to Mr. Obadiah Hemstreet for his enlightening and lightening anecdotes.



View of Wilkes-Barre in 1840. From approximately present North Street, looking down river and showing Market Street Bridge.



View of Wilkes-Barre, 1889, from present Kirby Park, showing both Market and North Street Bridges.

courageous, patriotic group of men and women, undaunted by obstacles. I wonder if we today, were we, unaided by modern inventions, faced by the problems that they met and solved, I wonder if we would be as invincible and triumphant a body as they.

"There was no market for products of the farming region of the west side nearer than Easton"¹ and the difficulty of transportation made the labor of marketing indeed arduous. I wonder if we would send our produce to market if we had to drive that distance in springless wagons. When one thinks how scarce money was, and how difficult materials were to transport and handle, let alone buy, the projecting and carrying to a successful completion of an enterprise of such proportion as a bridge was no small achievement. With the help that modern industry has given to the construction of the bridge that now spans the river, one finds it difficult to imagine how the people of 1816, in the face of such gargantuan odds, could have completed the task.

It is to be remembered that the Susquehanna was no less turbulent than it is today. In fact it was much more unruly one hundred and twenty-three years ago in its younger days. Yet it still masters us. There were the same wild floods in the spring that we have. There were ice jams. There was quicksand. There were whirlpools. And yet man would cross it. Those unaided settlers would not acknowledge its supremacy.

Today when the crossing of our river by any number of bridges is so easy, few of us pause to wonder what means the inhabitants of the valley of 1806 had of crossing from one bank to another. Knowing their difficulties one can appreciate more fully, I think, the beautiful bridge that now serves us. Before the first bridge was erected, the only way to reach the west side, then known as Kingston Village, was by ferry. This plied between the foot of Northampton

street and the west side. There was another ferry that could be used to cross the river, but this was farther up the river at Forty Fort. The trip up there was in itself quite a journey and therefore the Forty Fort ferry was rarely used by Wilkes-Barreans. Abel Yarrington was one of the first ferrymen and it was he who helped many women and children escape from the Wyoming Massacre by taking them across the river on his raft. When Wilkes-Barré was incorporated in 1806, the borough authorities were granted the exclusive right to maintain a ferry between the east and west side, and until this ferry was superseded by a bridge, the privilege was let annually to parties who paid certain rentals to the borough.² Rope ferries with temporary rafts were the most popular,³ but even these could not be used at all times because of the danger of the river in flood season. Nowadays we feel irked if we miss a trolley that is going to take us across the river, or if our automobile is unavailable, but think what it must have meant to the settlers of the valley in 1806 when days would go by when it was impossible to cross the river while produce ready for market rotted and food supplies became lower and lower. However, the pioneers' determination to harness the river would not admit failure.

Finally in 1807, matters had gone far enough to exert pressure on the Pennsylvania Legislature and an act was passed on April 9th of that year, supplemented four years later, March 20, 1811, saying that "when twenty-five persons shall have subscribed one hundred shares of the stock of said company, the commissioner, named in said acts to receive subscriptions, shall certify under their hands and seals the names of the subscribers and the number of shares subscribed by each, to the Governor, and thereupon it shall and may be lawful for the Governor...to create and erect the subscribers...to the number of six hundred shares, into one body politic and corporate...by the name...of 'The

President, Managers and Company for erecting a bridge over the river Susquehanna at the borough of Wilkes-Barre'".⁴ Although by this act the bridge was, in theory, started, in practice nothing definite was accomplished till 1816, five years later, when an actual bridge company was formed. On March 19th of that year, Gov. Simon Snyder chartered the company of which Lord Butler, Henry Buckingham, John B. Wallace and John H. Brinton, being a majority of the commissioners, were named to receive subscriptions and to certify to the Governor that forty-eight men had bought a total of one hundred and eighty-six shares.⁽⁵⁾ The many Wyoming Valley families who today can trace their lineage to some of these first subscribers to the bridge stock may well be proud of their ancestors' active patriotism. These stockholders held a meeting at the Court House on May 15, 1816, at which the officers of the bridge company were chosen. Matthias Hollenback was elected president, with Jacob Cist, treasurer, and the following managers:

Joseph Sinton.	James Barnes.
Stephen Tuttle.	Elias Hoyt.
George Chahoon.	Henry Buckingham.

Three days later, May 18th, Benjamin Perry was elected secretary.⁶ The company was then ready to begin business.

It was all very well to say that work would now start, but money makes the mare go even when speaking of bridges. And with the company's efforts to start the erection of a bridge began their financial troubles. We have seen the same thing happen in our day. There had been no difficulty in getting people to subscribe for the stock, but how to compel them to pay for it?

On June 11, 1816, the Bridge Company decided that funds might be collected by calling in 20% of the stock, to be paid on or before July first, of that year. Evidently the desired result did not follow, for on July 15th there was

another call for payment in full of all stock held in less than three shares and 20% of that held in three or more shares, to be payable on September the first. This, it was hoped, would guarantee the Bridge Company sufficient ready capital to start work on the bridge.

On June 14, 1816, the Company, with no more financial security than its faith in its stock subscribers to fulfill their promise to pay, courageously advertised that they were now ready to enter into contract for building the bridge and that proposals were asked for. This contract was on August 27, 1816, awarded jointly to Lewis Wernwag of Wilkes-Barré, George C. Troutman of Philadelphia county and Joseph Powell of Chester county. Wernwag proposed to build a bridge of four arches of 185 feet each (without roofing or siding) and the company was to fill up the wing walls. This made a bridge 740 feet long and thirty-four feet wide. The 1929 bridge is 1,620 feet long, with two sidewalks each 17 feet wide and road width of 54 feet. The 1816 bridge was to be completed by December 1, 1817. It is interesting to read Mr. Wernwag's contract:

"A bridge of four arches, 100 and 85 each three piers and two abutments will make 740 feet in length. Thirty-four feet from out to out in breadth, each carriage way twelve feet in the clear between the ribs and a footway three feet wide on the outside of the outer rib.

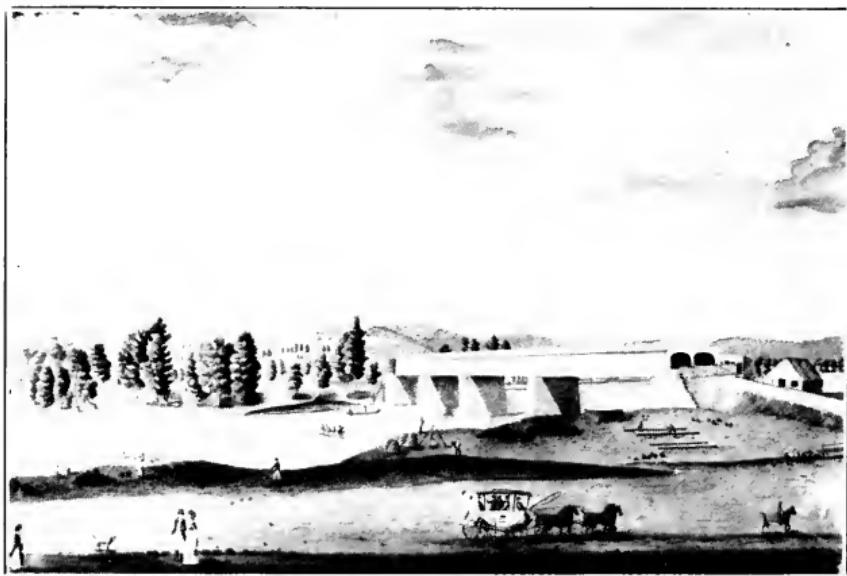
At \$5,000 per 100 feet is	\$37,000
Additional mason work over and above that at New Hope (7)—1,400 perches @	
\$2.50	3,500
"Roofing toll house-gates, etc. Scaffolding, and other unknown expenses	6,650

	\$47,150" ⁸

In 1816 this was a huge sum of money, and yet it seems



Seal of the Bridge Company.



Bridge built 1820, blown down in 1824.

to us small in comparison with that of the present bridge. The contract for the erection of this 1929 bridge was signed with the Walter E. Rae Construction Company of Pittsburgh by the county commissioners on July 26, 1926, and specified that all work must be completed in 18 months. The contract price was \$1,795.402. This did not include fees for architectural work of about \$384,220 and about \$380,000 for other incidentals and extras, making a total of \$2,559.622.⁹

According to Wernwag's contract the base of the bridge was to be composed of two abutments and three piers, with the foundations of the abutments sunk below the water mark, "or so low as may be necessary for obtaining a good foundation".¹⁰ These were to be neatly faced and laid through-out with good and substantial stone, well bound and secured by long, flat stone".¹¹ They were to be held together by lime and sand mortar—no concrete used. Iron braces were to run from the piers to the abutments. In comparing this bridge with the 1929 one I do not mean to minimize that of 1816. Rather does this comparison make us, while appreciating the efforts of the bridge builders one hundred and thirteen years ago, value more fully the present magnificent bridge. I have said that Wernwag's contract called for two abutments and three piers. Rae's contract stipulated twelve piers, the width of them varying. Of these, five are in the river and two are abutment piers, one at the Wilkes-Barre and the other at the Kingston end of the structure. The remaining five piers are in Kingston on the land. There is an aggregate width between the piers, clear of their width, of 1,150 feet. Compared with the materials used for the bridge of 1816, those used to-day seem staggering in amount. For the present bridge 52,900 cubic yards of concrete were used; 66,310 barrels of cement; 38,800 tons of sand; 59,600 tons of gravel; 1,231 tons of reinforced steel; 198,000 linear feet of foundation piles;

26,900 cubic feet of granite masonry; and 17,079 cubic feet of limestone masonry.¹²

Different as are these elaborate statistics, from the simple ones of Wernwag's bridge, still Rae was faced by many of the same difficulties that lay in Wernwag's path. One of the construction problems was the quicksand that Wernwag discovered where the first pier had to be sunk. According to Mr. Obadiah Hemstreet, toll collector, this handicap was overcome by sinking a heavy bed of hemlock boughs and then building upon this base. Rae's solution did not differ very widely from Wernwag's. He drove hemlock piles below this quicksand and upon the piles he placed his concrete foundation.

But to the Bridge Company of 1816 even more severe than the construction difficulties were the financial ones. Today when money in large quantities is fairly available, we have no idea of its severe dearth in 1816. Since the stock subscribers did not pay, there were no funds to meet the contract. Up to May 1817 the Bridge Company had received only \$7,284 and had already paid out \$7,200, leaving but \$84 on hand. The original 186 shares had increased to 600 without materially adding to the Company's capital. The decision to ask for state aid was acted upon on November 29, 1817, one month before the bridge was to have been completed. The expectation that the Governor would subscribe to and pay for 300 shares proved vain. Jacob Cist, the treasurer of the Company, also met with failure in setting forth the plight of the Wilkes-Barré Bridge Company before the State Legislature. And yet how comparatively simple it was for Contractor Rae, meeting the county commissioners, Harrison, Conway and Rosser, to send in an estimate of an extra \$2,233.75 as the cost of raising the grade of the bridge approach at Market and River streets, which was not provided or covered in the original contract, and be told to go ahead with the work for the commissioners would pay the extra amount.¹³

While the Pennsylvania Legislature turned a deaf ear to their plea for aid, the Bridge Company in 1817 issued script to the sum of \$30,000 in notes of small denominations. The value of these fluctuated with the prospects of the Company issuing them. This, instead of relieving, only added to the local financial troubles.¹⁴

In spite of these discouragements, Wilkes-Barré's leading newspaper, the *Gleaner*, on June 6, 1817, seemed to see a ray of hope, for it optimistically said, "We observe with much pleasure the progress which is making with the bridge at this place. The work was commenced on the opening of the present season under the superintendence of Mr. Powell, one of the contractors. The two abutments are nearly completed and the piers are ready to be sunk as soon as the present swell of water has subsided. Present appearances give us the most ample assurance that the contract will be completed by the stipulated time."

These sanguine expectations were not to be fulfilled for the winter of 1817-1818, an unusually severe one, saw teams and pedestrians using the ice bridge erected by nature across the Susquehanna from late December till the ice broke. The contractors made use of the ice to sink the third pier of the bridge through an opening made for the purpose late in February, 1818.¹⁵

The elements had further hardships in store for the Bridge Company. These we read of in the *Wilkes-Barre Gleaner* of March 6, 1818. "In consequence of a heavy fall of rain our ice-bridge left us on Monday. The river immediately after the ice started, rose to an unusual height, and as the ice was from twelve to eighteen inches thick, and the river high, considerable damage was sustained. The two piers of the Bridge, which was begun last season—one of which was quite and the other almost finished—were destroyed. The pier which was sunk by cutting a hole through the ice a few days before it started, we believe has escaped uninjured."

However, when the spring freshet had subsided, the work of repairing the damaged piers and of constructing the two additional supports in the shallower water of the Kingston side preceded so rapidly during the spring and summer of 1818 that it was possible to lay four wooden spans between the five piers late that fall. And, although the sides and roof were unfinished, the bridge was floored and open to traffic in December 1818, one year after the date specified in the contract. The completion of the 1929 bridge was also delayed, though this for more than a year and a half after the contract date. They had been forced at times to admit the invincibility of nature. So did we. In our case the floods of 1926-1927 and 1927-1928, a law suit and an injunction were responsible for the delay. Like the bridge of 1818, ours was open for traffic about six months before its completion and dedication. However, the elation of the Bridge Company in 1818 must have been far greater than our sophisticated calm. Their bridge was a symbol of the greatest community effort that had been attempted by the pioneers up to that time. It represented the progressive, dauntless spirit of that little Wilkes-Barré borough.

They by 1818 had their bridge. But how to pay for it?

On May 14, 1818, the Bridge Company was again compelled to avail itself, by the issue of paper, of an indirect loan from the public of upwards of \$30,000. The treasurer, George Lane, said that "as however, considerable uneasiness exists on the part of the public in consequence of our inability promptly to redeem notes, it is desirable that this indirect loan be cancelled by calling in the paper of the company as rapidly as possible."¹⁶

The directors of the Company then decided to appeal to the Philadelphia Bank for aid, because as Mr. Johnson says, "in consequence of curtailments of discounts at branch banks, many of the stockholders of the Bridge Company were unable to pay for their stock."¹⁷ As a result of this

the Company was under great financial embarrassment. The Bridge Company felt that this state of affairs might be remedied since the Philadelphia bank permitted directors of branch banks to loan to persons indebted to bridge companies on good security, the sum of \$10,000.¹⁸ On August 8, 1818, the Wilkes-Barré Bridge Company petitioned the Philadelphia bank either to grant them a loan, or bring pressure on the directors of branch banks to loan them funds. On August 13, their request was refused.

Then trouble arose among the bridge laborers themselves, and on October 30, 1818, a strike, one of the first, if not the first in Wilkes-Barré was declared. Though the contractors had been given \$32,857.23, they had neglected to pay the hands and had no money with which to avert the strike. Notice was served on the Company by the stockholders that this must be remedied immediately. The situation was eased by the Company treasurer's compelling the contractors to pay the laborers a part of their wages with the promise to pay the complete sum.

Work continued to progress slowly on the bridge until April 30, 1819, when the *Wyoming Herald* of that date announced a *Public Calamity*, "—That pier of the Wilkes-Barré bridge which stood next to the Wilkes-Barré shore, and which for some days preceding wore a very threatening aspect (being continually settling towards the Kingston shore) suddenly gave way at the top, and the two entire arches of the bridge resting thereon were, with a tremendous crash, precipitated into the river. The shore arch remains in the water where it fell...the other was towed to shore about half a mile below, where it remains... the timber of both being very much shattered, and much of the iron work injured..." Knowing the plight of this Bridge Company we can realize how lucky in spite of two floods our bridge builders have been.

After this "public calamity" John J. Ward was given a

contract to separate the two broken arches and bring the timber to the top of the bank and the iron and castings to the storehouse of Wernwag and Company.¹⁹

Mr. Wernwag's neglecting to build ice fenders or take precautions against the spring freshets was responsible for this accident. The ice, plus the high river, plus a large quantity of timbers being lodged against the pier nearest Wilkes-Barré caused the damage. It seemed that indeed experience was to be the wisest teacher for the poor Bridge Company. Mr. Matthias Hollenback, first president of the Bridge Company, has said that although "The Company were very much embarrassed, with a view to saving the remaining arches and of completing the bridge in the style originally intended, they entered into a new contract with Messrs. Thurston and Hill, gentlemen of acknowledged abilities and experience in works of this kind to rebuild the fallen pier and arches and to erect ice fenders for the sum of \$9,500."²⁰ In entering into this new contract the Company confidently relied upon the Pennsylvania Legislature to lend them the aid that had been given to several other projects of municipal and state improvement by authorizing the Governor to subscribe for 320 shares of stock. But again their hopes proved vain. The State refused aid. The Bridge Company admitted that it was now beyond their power to cover and complete the bridge. They were forced to try other sources for financial assistance.

These other sources were the Easton and Wilkes-Barre Turnpike Company and the Philadelphia bank. A letter dated October 23, 1819, from Elias Hoyt, president of the Bridge Company, to Matthias Hollenback, then in Philadelphia, clearly shows the dire state of affairs.

"Dear Sir—

"The Board of Managers have requested me to write to you in Philadelphia with regard to money concerned. The contractors here say they will be

compelled to abandon work soon unless they can have money. Should the Company fail of a loan from the Easton and Wilkes-Barré Turnpike Company which fact we presume you have by this time ascertained, we wish you to take the trouble to see the directors of the Philadelphia Bank and know from them whether we could not be accommodated with a loan of from \$1,000 to \$1,500, on a year's credit, provided the debt should be well secured. It is of great importance that we have a loan from some quarter and hope you will not fail to make diligent inquiry.

"The work at present is going on tolerably well and I think only requiring a little exertion on our part, to have the Bridge passable by next Christmas.

"I remain, Sir,

"Your Humble Serv't.

"Elias Hoyt."

Evidently no aid was forthcoming for with the bridge as yet incomplete and the debts not paid, the Bridge Company decided to use the tolls to meet expenses.²¹

The next task facing the Company was the appointment of a toll-keeper for the many irregularities that were occurring. Unappointed persons were taking tolls; horses were trotting on the bridge; four or five wagons would arrive on the same arch at the same time and fires were being kindled within the gate near the frame of the bridge.²² Bids were therefore open and Zury Smith's proposal was accepted. Smith undertook to keep the gate one year for \$180, payable quarterly, provided his firewood and candles were furnished him."²³

Having secured the services of a toll keeper, the next problem was where to house him. A toll house had to be built. On March 22, 1819, Job Barton was awarded the contract to erect a toll house 7 x 10 at a cost of \$16.

And still the State refused aid. On January 4, 1820, they were again petitioned. And again refused. Few of us realize, I think, how comparatively little trouble we had to get our new bridge. One cannot but admire the perseverance of the 1816 Bridge Company officials when they once more sought the help of the Legislature on November 20, 1820. This time they were successful. They received an appropriation of \$10,000 secured, for which the State received 260 shares of stock.²⁴ The bridge was then finished as to sides and roof. It must have been indeed a relief when the Bridge Company had their structure so far completed that they could make rules regarding it. On March 8, 1821, we find them resolving to impose a fine of five dollars for fast driving on the bridge. And fast driving was then the shocking pace of a horse's trot. The Company were probably devout churchmen, for on April 2, 1821, they decreed that all teams laden exclusively with lumber for a Methodist meeting house to be built in Wilkes-Barré the ensuing season should pass the bridge toll free. Ministers of all denominations were to be allowed to pass and repass to attend religious meetings free from toll. It was also resolved on May 25, 1821, that the president, managers and treasurer be given the privilege of passing the bridge on foot, on horseback or in carriage, toll free, together with any person or persons in the carriage with them.²⁵

After the actual construction of the bridge was completed, it was up to the Bridge Company to keep it in repair. In Matthias Hollenback's account book we find a record of wages that were paid the laborers.

It is interesting to know that whiskey for the workers was always figured in with expenses. On August 27, 1821, there is an entry in the Bridge account book reading:

"3 qts. whiskey to get flat into river37 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

"Expense getting up flat, 2 yoke oxen

4 hands with their whiskey 2.12 $\frac{1}{2}$ "



Bridge replacing first bridge, showing ice flood of February 12, 1861.



Wooden toll gate house of bridge 1826-1885.

A few years later (May 17, 1825) we read:

"May 17 1 qt. whiskey10
" 19 1 bbl. whiskey—33 gals. (old) ...	10.23
Aug. 9 Beer for hands getting posts	1.83"

Impecunious residents of the valley had an opportunity to meet tax demands by working on the bridge.

Although by 1824 the bridge was five years old, and although no dividends had as yet been declared, fate again overtook the structure. A wind storm swept the bridge from its piers, depositing the superstructure on the ice some distance beyond the location. Colonel Charles Dorrance, who at that time was a youth of nineteen said later (1878) he remembered how this storm had shaken the Dorrance homestead. An eye witness of the bridge's destruction said in the *Record of the Times* on January 6, 1858, "...the gale took the bridge bodily from the piers and it fell with a tremendous crash on the thick blue ice below and broke into atoms. The ice broke up next day towards sundown and carried downstream with it most of the broken timbers & iron (a small portion having been removed that day) which was totally lost from the owners."

After the destruction of the bridge, the Hon. Benjamin Dorrance, then a member of the State Legislature, had the Act of March 30, 1824, passed through the State Legislature. According to this, commissioners were created to collect \$15,000 from certificates, liens and mortgages on lands of the township of Luzerne county for the bridge company to spend as it saw fit.

By this act the Bridge Company was put on its feet again. Calvin Wadham, George M. Hollenback and Garrick Malley were named commissioners for the purpose of reorganizing the company's affairs, paying their debts and securing additional funds for reconstructing the bridge by collecting the money due the Commonwealth on certificates, liens and mortgages. Collections thus made were to be shown in the

form of shares of stock in the Company delivered to the Commonwealth.²⁶ By October, 1824, the managers announced that they were ready to let the contract for replacing the superstructure. The contract was awarded that fall to Reuben Field although work was not started on the bridge until February 22, 1825.²⁷ Plans of the Derrstown bridge were followed and the rebuilt structure is the "Old Covered Bridge" that was used till replaced by the iron one (1892), that has recently given way to the present concrete bridge. By these different materials used, one can trace the increased prosperity of this community. This second bridge was wooden with heavy arched timbers spanning the piers. On the Wilkes-Barre side was a wooden toll house with an archway through the centre to allow passage of vehicles. Here the toll keeper resided.²⁸

Toward the end of November, 1825, the bridge was again passable and December sixth was the day set aside to dedicate the new structure. Though Mr. Lord Butler was then president of the Company (1821-1826) the Honorable Benjamin Dorrance, because of his invaluable assistance in getting the Act of March 30, 1824, passed, presided over the elaborate dinner with which the ceremonies ended. The *Susquehanna Democrat* describes the occasion as follows:

"The day was ushered in by the discharge of a cannon... The citizens awoke with joy... and gazed with conspicuous pride upon the bridge... At two o'clock, the workmen and a numerous assemblage of our farmers and citizens sat down at the discharge of a signal gun to an excellent dinner prepared by Mr. O. Helme."

Even as we in 1929, so they in 1824 celebrated the completion of their bridge with music, speeches and a banquet.

During the year 1826 the toll house and the sides and roof of the bridge were completed and the "Old Covered Bridge" had become a reality.

By 1829 the stock taken by the Commonwealth was almost entirely repurchased by individuals and was ultimately held by the projectors of the enterprise. On January 10, 1829, the first Bridge Company dividend was paid (\$1.25 per share).

From 1829 to 1861 nothing momentous happened to the bridge beyond extensive repairs for reflooring and reroofing in 1834; and several new by-laws on February 22, 1840. These by-laws said that no person or persons should be permitted to smoke any cigar or pipe or any other substance containing fire, or to carry any instrument or thing containing fire, on the bridge without incurring for every such offense a fine of 5.²⁹. On March 11, 1844, tolls were reduced as follows:

"Four horse teams from 70c to 50c.

"Two horse teams from 40c to 30c.

"Tickets for two horse team from 25c to 20c."³⁰

On January 1, 1858 gas fixtures were installed on the bridge, for which fittings A. C. Laning paid Thomas Lewis \$140. These fixtures were equipped with natural gas piped from nearby pond-holes. Mr. William A. Wilcox, of Scranton, said:

"J. Bennett Smith, traveling agent for Hazard Wire Rope Company of Wilkes-Barré, first got the idea that the gas bubbling up in the gas pots on south side of the road in Kingston could be utilized for lighting the bridge. He succeeded in getting a pipe across the bridge with lights at intervals. The difficulty with this was that lights generated too much heat. They had a great deal of trouble in getting a substance that would stand the heat. Large sheets of mica solved this problem and lights were a success for some time. However, the use of gas was stopped a little while before the Old Covered Bridge was taken down."

It required forty-two years for the bridge of 1816 finally to achieve lights but the 1929 bridge on its completion boasts thirteen light standards on each of the sidewalks. Each standard bears two electric lights of 400 candle power each.

In 1861 there was serious damage done to the bridge in the spring break up of ice, part of the structure being completely demolished, so that it was necessary to close the bridge to traffic for several weeks. By June repairs were far enough advanced to allow traffic although not until several months later were the repairs completed. The *Wilkes-Barre Record* of December 25, 1861, says:

“The Wilkes-Barre bridge has been thoroughly repaired and is in better condition than ever before. Under the charge of Capt. Urquhart the damaged piers were taken down and rebuilt with huge granite blocks, cemented together in the most substantial manner. The superstructure, so strong before that it no doubt resisted the force of the ice, and kept the piers from being washed away, has been further raised and strengthened by iron rods and bolts, and is no doubt one of the finest structures of the kind in the country.” The *Record* was saying the same things in 1861 as they do today. “It is hardly possible that the ice floods of the Susquehanna will in many years equal that of last winter which damaged the bridge so that it may be considered permanent.” The cost of repairs was between \$11,000 and \$12,000.”

In spite of this boast the flood of 1865 did injure the bridge so that several repairs and replacements were necessary.

In 1885 the wooden toll house on the Wilkes-Barré side, being unsafe, was torn down and in its stead a brick toll house was built.

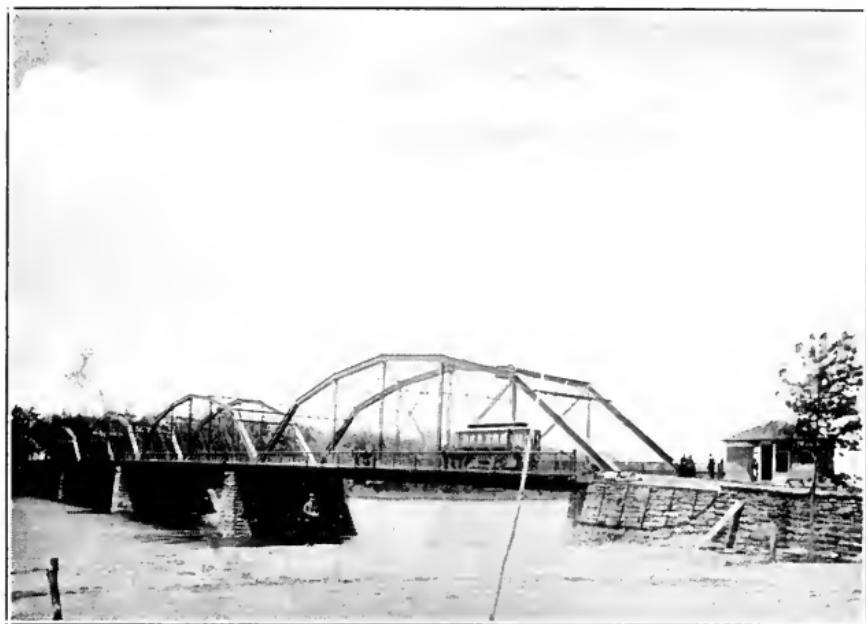


Bridge—1826-1892, showing brick toll keeper's dwelling built 1885.



Market Street, Wilkes-Barre, about 1885, looking from end of bridge toward Public Square and Court House. First building on the right—residence of John Welles Hollenback, on the left—Old Music Hall.





Steel bridge erected 1892-93, removed for concrete bridge 1928.



Steel bridge, showing flood of March 3, 1902.

In the meantime another bridge was being built across the Susquehanna River at North street, Wilkes-Barré, and this, promoted by Mr. John Reynolds, though bitterly opposed by all ardent supporters of the Market Street Bridge, was nevertheless completed on September 1, 1888. The North street bridge was further made convenient for those crossing the river when a trolley line was run from Main street, Wilkes-Barré, to Wyoming avenue, Kingston. Directors of the Market Street Bridge and their families would not stoop to go over the North Street Bridge and directors of the North Street Bridge would rather swim the river than cross by the Market Street Bridge. Tales are told that in 1888 it was considered rather the sporting thing to do to defy parental control and cross the forbidden bridge, whichever one it was.

With the increase of traffic, the Market Street Bridge was found to be not only inadequate but also unsound. Therefore on January 1, 1892, traffic was diverted to the North Street Bridge while the timbers of the historic "Old Covered Bridge" gave place to the then modern steel spans. As a mark of respect to the last president of the Bridge Company, Colonel Charles Dorrance, the destruction of the Old Covered Bridge was withheld a few hours in order that his funeral might pass over it. On April 16, 1892, the new Market Street Bridge was opened for use. It continued to be a toll bridge until 1908 when it was sold to Luzerne County for \$165,000 and made a free bridge on October 3rd of that same year. Mr. Obadiah Hemstreet, who had been the toll keeper of the "Old Covered Bridge" since 1872, continued to fill the same office on the new bridge with Matthew Siddle, former toll collector at Towanda, as his assistant. Mr. Hemstreet tells many anecdotes of his experiences from 1872-1909.

In those days truck farms between Wilkes-Barré and Kingston flourished upon the flats and the melons grown there were especially famous. Two farmers, Severn and

Newitt, had stands near the Kingston side of the bridge, where they sold Rocky Ford melons for ten cents apiece. When these gardeners and others, especially Beechum and Pierce, brought their melons to the Wilkes-Barré market they paused at the toll house to pay toll and to give Mrs. Hemstreet their choicest melons. In return for this favor, she saved the seeds for the farmers that they might use them for the next season's planting.

Mr. Hemstreet says that runaways were frequent and that strangers often took the wrong side of the bridge, causing traffic congestion until the horses could either be backed to the opening, or else turned around inside the bridge. In the winter, while the "Old Covered Bridge" was still in use (before 1892) snow was hauled inside the bridge so that sleighs might use it. Mr. Hemstreet says that in winter there was not much sleep for the toll-keeper because of the numerous sleighing parties that crossed the bridge at all hours of the night.

Young boys on ponies caused the toll keeper considerable difficulty for they almost always had forgotten their toll money and felt it an injustice to their steeds to slow them down to a walk. Mr. Hemstreet had to be alert when dealing with small boys going fishing. Many were the arts they practiced to avoid the toll-keeper. One of the most popular means of escape was to walk beside a wagon or the horse-drawn trolleys, that later plied between Wilkes-Barré and Kingston, on the side away from the toll keeper. Or else they might hide themselves in a wagon that was crossing the bridge.

But the most difficult customers that Mr. Hemstreet had to deal with were the non-English-speaking foreigners and immigrants that crossed the bridge. The women carrying trunks on their bent backs, the men alert and erect walking beside them to supervise their efforts, were unable to understand the toll collector and often required time and patience before they finally paid the fee. Mr. Hemstreet found his

dog an invaluable assistant, for those who refused to pay and passed the collector would be faced by a snarling dog who meant business. Mr. Hemstreet says that few, if any, ever tried to argue with this canine Horatius.

When the Molly McGuires were at their height the collector had to keep his wits about him. Mr. Hemstreet remembers one cold night about ten o'clock when four impudent, lawless fellows refused to meet his request for toll. Instead they snatched him up, ran the length of the bridge with him and were leaning over the railing to throw him into the river when some of his friends happened by in the nick of time to save him.

When the horse cars were established—through the efforts of Mr. A. H. Coon—they ran between the Square and the Kingston D., L. and W. station. The fare was ten cents, the cars ran every forty minutes and paid \$120.00 a month for toll. There was straw on the floor of the cars in winter so that the passengers might try to keep their feet warm. I have often heard of the bitterness, literally and figuratively, that might be felt when on a raw winter night, after running for the horse car, one just missed it and knew that a forty minute wait in the piercing cold lay ahead of one. Electrically propelled cars were first run over the North Street Bridge.

Although the early troubles of the Bridge Company were a thing of the past, and the bridge completed, the weather continued to molest the peace just as it still does. On the night of March 17, 1875, the river, with heavy ice floating on top was running high and rapidly rising. Mr. Hemstreet says that the piers of the bridge were shaking so vigorously that he could hardly stand. The water was almost up to the level of the bridge. The ice was twenty-nine inches thick. One unusually large piece came by and without bending or shattering the ice, cut in half a row of timbers 12 x 12. This same freshet broke two wagon bridges at Pittston. These bridge were burned at Forty Fort so

that, in floating down the river, they should not damage the Wilkes-Barré Bridge.

The need for a larger and more adequate bridge was felt as long ago as 1917. The Iron Bridge, the third one to be built across the Susquehanna, was not open to traffic at all times and was unable to accommodate the trolleys, automobiles and wagons that had to cross it. Therefore, in March, 1919, more than ten years ago, authorization for the construction of the present bridge was given by the Luzerne County Court. Litigation, however, held up the preliminary arrangements till 1926. As I have said before, the contract for the erection of the new bridge was signed with the Walter E. Rae Construction Company of Pittsburgh on July 26, 1926. It is a tribute to modern industry that within ten days the materials of construction were on the place of action and that the actual work of erection started. Travel over the old and new bridge continued almost uninterruptedly during the building and on September 25, 1929, the fourth bridge was dedicated—modern and complete in every detail.

It is a bridge to which one and all may point with pride not view with alarm. It is a monument in which narrow sectionalism should be lost while realizing the useful beauty of this structure that belongs *to us all*. May it be a monument to the dauntless courage and fortitude of that pioneer bridge company, to their progressiveness, service and patriotism. Let us never forget that it represents an historic old landmark. And knowing the difficulties that have been surmounted in building these four bridges, let us fully appreciate this fourth one. It is the growth of our Wyoming Valley that we see in the growth of our bridges. Since the first settlers came here, man has fought to cross that turbulent river. The bridges have symbolized man's battle for commerce, growing and enlarging, always moving forward. Those other bridges told of the flourishing nature of the local settlements. This new bridge points to a new era of progressiveness in the valley's history.



Concrete bridge finished 1929, from South River Street.



Market Street entrance to concrete bridge.

NOTES AND FOOTNOTES

1. Johnson—Vol. IV., p. 85.
 2. *Wilkes-Barre Record*—9/10/26.
 3. Bradby—p. 264.
 4. Johnson—Vol. IV., p. 85.
 5. Ibid.

NOTE :—The following is a list of those who bought shares with the names of some present descendants:

Lord Butler	4 shares	(Butler, Hillard, Woodward)
Matthias Hollenback	10 shares	(Hollenback, Welles)
Benjamin Dorrance	4 shares	(Dorrance, Reynolds) Guthrie)
Jacob Cist	5 shares	(McClintock, Rutter, Thomas,
Isaac Bowman	2 shares	(Bowman, Ingham, Mulligan)
George Chahoon	10 shares	
David Peckins	1 share	
David Scott	6 shares	(Scott)
Samuel Thomas	10 shares	
Elijah Shoemaker	7 shares	(Shoemaker, Miner, Norris, Phelps)
George Lane	5 shares	
Henry Buckingham	5 shares	(Reynolds, Dorrance, Loveland,
James Barnes	10 shares	Vaughn, Hoyt)
Joseph Sinton	10 shares	
Nathan Palmer	1 share	
Jesse Fell	2 shares	(Fell, Carpenter)
Stephen Tuttle	2 shares	
Calvin Wadhams	3 shares	(Wadhams)
Jonathan Hancock	5 shares	
Elias Hoyt	2 shares	(Hoyt, Reynolds)
Daniel Hoyt	4 shares	(Hoyt, Reynolds)
Nathali Hurlbert	2 shares	(Loveland)
Darius Landon	1 share	
M. Thompson	4 shares	
Joseph Tuttle	5 shares	
Geo. M. Hollenback	10 shares	(Hollenback, Welles)
William Barnes	5 shares	
Eliphalet A. Bulkeley	1 share	
David Smith	2 shares	
Isaac Shoemaker	2 shares	(Shoemaker)
Adam Shafer	1 share	
David Brace	2 shares	

Henry Courtright	4 shares	
Barnet Ulp	1 share	
Collings & Bettle	3 shares	
Elijah Loveland	2 shares	(Loveland)
Albert Skeir	1 share	
Benjamin Drake	5 shares	(Drake, Loomis)
Joseph Slocum	5 shares	(Slocum, Bennett, Phelps, Jones,
Charles Catlin	4 shares	(Catlin) Ayres, Butler)
Joshua Pettebone	5 shares	(Pettebone)
Christian G. Ochwig	2 shares	
John Peckins	1 share	
Franklin Jenkins	1 share	(Schooley, Wilcox, Jenkins)
James Hughes	2 shares	
John W. Ward	2 shares	
Alexander Jameison	4 shares	
Henry Kern	2 shares	
Total	186	

6. Johnson—vol. IV., p. 85.

7. The bridge at Wilkes-Barré was to be made with the bridge at New Hope on the Delaware River above Bristol, Pa., as a model. This bridge is still standing (March, 1929).

8. Wernwag's contract in the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

9. *Times-Leader*—9/25/29.

10. Wernwag's contract.

11. Ibid.

12. *Times-Leader*—9/25/29.

13. *Times-Leader*—4/25/29.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Johnson—vol. IV., p. 87.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid—p. 88.

20. Mathias Hollenback's papers in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

21. Johnson—vol. IV., p. 88.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid—p. 89.

25. Ibid—p. 90.

26. *Times-Leader*—7/22/27.
 27. Johnson—vol. IV., p. 89.
 28. *Wilkes-Barre Record*—9/10/26.
 29. Johnson—vol. IV., p. 90.
 30. Ibid.
 31. *Times-Leader*—9/25/29.
 32. The presidents of the Bridge Company were:
 - 1816 Matthias Hollenback.
 - 1817 Joseph Sinton.
 - 1819 Elias Hoyt.
 - 1821 Lord Butler.
 - 1826 George Dennison.
 - 1827 Ebenezer Bowman.
 - 1829 G. M. Hollenback.
 - 1866 Hon. Ziba Bennett.
 - 1878 Col Charles Dorrance.
-

PHOTOGRAPHS USED AS ILLUSTRATIONS

- The Old River Ark.
 Matthias Hollenback (portrait).
 Matthias Hollenback's House.
 Market St. Bridge—1820.
 Market St. Bridge, by B. Brower—1823.
 Market St. Bridge—1824.
 Toll House—1826.
 Public Square, Wilkes-Barre—1830.
 Old Steamer *Wyoming*.
 Wilkes-Barre—1840.
 Wyoming Valley—1850.
 Ice Flood—1861.
 Ice Flood—1865.
 Wyoming Valley Hotel—1866.
 Wilkes-Barre—1870—1.
 Ice Gorge—1875.
 River View, opp. Valley Hotel (*9).
 Flood, showing flats—1875.
 Market St., Wilkes-Barre, approx. 1875 (*117).
 North Main St., Wilkes-Barre, approx. 1875 (*75).
 Luzerne House and Public Square, approx. 1875 (*12).
 Hollenback Building.
 Wyoming Valley, Pa.—1885.
 Market St. Bridge—1892.
 Market St. Bridge in 1902 flood.
 Market St. Bridge, 1929.

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JACOB RICE OF TRUCKSVILLE: COMMUNITY BUILDER.

BY HIS GREAT-GREAT-GRANDSON, KENNETH DANN MAGRUDER.

The origin of any American community which has survived at least a century, should be a subject of interest to one who appreciates perspectives. When it so happens that the founder was a man of real character and wholesome influence a definite inquiry into the past should be a profitable undertaking. "People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors."

With Trucksville becoming more and more a suburban center, and with a history dating back considerably more than one hundred years, a review of its beginnings would seem appropriate. Never heretofore has appeared a complete story of the life of the pioneer builder, Jacob Rice, "who became one of the foremost and wealthiest citizens of his time" in Wyoming Valley and progenitor of several generations of reputable families residing in our midst.

"Dull as the public is prone to regard genealogical data, the faithful biographer is bound to give them." Hence we shall begin with the statement that Jacob Rice belonged to the first generation of strictly German stock. His father, Johann Christoph Reuss, when nineteen years of age, was stolen from his bed in Brunswick, Germany, and was impressed to fight as a Hessian soldier in the English army.

Thus it was, that Jacob's father came to America, though a grandson of the Hessian, Rev. Charles Lane Rice,—quoted by his son, Charles Wells Rice—is authority for the statement that the sailing vessel "took so long to get over that the war had closed when they arrived."

In the records of the Moravian Church of York, Pennsylvania, is the entry:

"Barb. Schank, born a. 1757. Mar. 5. in York township, York County. Religion, Brethren. Married in Pensilv. in Yorktown to Christoph Reuss, 1779, Nov. 25."

The third of the nine children by this union was Jacob,

who apparently was named in memory of his maternal uncle, Johann Jacob Schank, who had died in 1776. Jacob Rice, whose name was Anglicized in later years, was born on July 27th, 1783, in York, where he was baptized by G. Neisser.

In the fall, October 28th, the family removed to the little town of Hope, New Jersey—a Moravian settlement finally evacuated by this sect, because of unscrupulous neighbors who took advantage of the higher ideals. There, on the outskirts, at Rice's Pond—now dried up—Jacob was reared to manhood.

At the county seat, Newton, is recorded the marriage in Knowlton, Sussex County, of "Jacob Rice of Knowlton" (Knowlton township at that time including a part of Hope township of the present day) and "Sarah Cook of Hardwick", September 24th, 1804. Barnabas Swayze, justice of the peace, tied the knot, which was a link with one of the oldest families in America, Sarah being descended from Francis Cooke and Stephen Hopkins of the Mayflower.

This period of young Jacob's life also marked his religious awakening. Rev. Elijah Woolsey, a Methodist, started him in attending class-meetings, a practice never discontinued. But the rigid requirement of evidence of sins forgiven, was not met until two years after Woolsey first stirred the sleeping fire within. This manifestation Jacob received at the home of John Albertson in Hardwick. Because of the attitude of the young man's parents toward Methodism, Rev. George Peck of Wyoming Conference stated, Jacob won much opposition from them and faced many severe trials, which he "endured with Christian meekness and firmness." Of such was the suffering in the "Americanization" of Jacob Rice. Fortunately, a permanent breach did not result.

Whether this lack of sympathy was the cause of the departure from friends and relatives, we do not know. The fact remains that in 1814 Jacob Rice with his growing family abandoned farming in New Jersey, returning to the Keystone State. He was undecided how far west in the mountains to

travel in search of a permanent home; but when his eyes viewed for the first time the magnificent garden spot of Wyoming Valley, then unmarred by mining, he felt satisfied that he had reached his destination.

Truxville, as the place was spelled earlier, was settled about 1809 or 1810 by David Trux, who bought a large acreage and built the first house in that locality. In 1811, Trux sold his mills to Joseph Swetland, who soon added a distillery to the grist mill. For three years, this property was undisturbed in the possession of Swetland. Then came Jacob Rice.

A deed in the Court House (vol. 15, p. 453) shows that the newcomer purchased from Swetland on September 27th, 1814, a large portion of farm land in Kingston township. Here Jacob Rice immediately started the development of the village of Trucksville.

Though of German blood and living at a period when intoxicating liquor was accepted generally, the distillery erected by Swetland was offensive to enterprising Jacob. It was not long before he had demolished it. By nature, however, this pioneer was a builder—and in reality was not the destruction of the distillery in harmony with this character? Was his act not an aid to thrift and industry, which rapidly produced a community of great energy and progress?

Before the end of his first year in the new home, Jacob Rice had erected a grist mill.

May 8th, 1816, he acquired more land in Kingston township from Joseph Swetland (vol. 17, p. 55, Deeds). March 15th, 1822, Rice bought from Stephen Robbins. January 3d, 1823, he further expanded by purchasing from James Luce. Six hundred acres he finally had in his possession in Kingston township.

A deed dated January 9th, 1819 (vol. 20, p. 143), shows that Barbara Rice, the mother of Jacob, bought land in Kingston township from James Murphy et al. Following her husband's death in Hope, she had journeyed to Luzerne County to be near her son. Her home on Rice's Hill, Ed-

wardsville, meant a renewed intimacy, which was unbroken until her death in 1852, when she was interred in the Rice Cemetery at Dallas.

A journey by horse and wagon over dirt roads leading to distant points across mountains, would seem to us a laborious undertaking; yet Jacob Rice did not hesitate to transport the products of his grist mill to Easton and Carbondale. He, himself, drove to New Jersey and New York City, not only once, but usually twice a year.

While on these long journeys, he sometimes lodged over night at the home of a woman who was proud of her shrewdness. She was accustomed to sell each dozen of eggs for one cent less than she had paid for them, on the theory that she was profiting by attracting the most business. She almost originated the principle upon which the Five and Ten Cent Stores are based!

Jacob Rice's methods were more effective in bringing prosperity, with one minor exception. He installed a corn roaster, planning to supply the South with the prepared diet for Negro slaves. Since roasted corn was found later to be injurious food for the black folk, this particular enterprise failed. It is, however, an example of the broad outlook of the man, who was always ready to reach out to larger fields of activity.

Other equipment which he added to his property, included a saw-mill, a short distance below the grist mill, a fulling mill, tannery, and blacksmith shop, all of which proved of value.

When the old covered bridge was being erected in 1818 across the Susquehanna River where now stands the new Market Street structure connecting Wilkes-Barre and Kingston, Jacob Rice supplied the shingles and was employed to put on the roof.

In 1821, he was engaged as tax collector for Kingston township.

Not later than 1823, Rice was sufficiently wealthy to have

a handsome home on one of the hills above the grist mill, a home—as described by William Penn Ryman—which “was far in advance of any other house in that country. It was painted white and had green blinds on the windows, and when new was generally regarded as palatial for that place. Joseph Orr, father of Albert S. Orr, of Wilkes-Barre, was the builder.” At present, it serves as the summer home of Joseph G. Schuler. The porches have been added in recent years.

The first school house in Trucksville was built in 1825. In the same year, according to the article on “Truxville” in the “History of Luzerne County”, published in 1880 by W. W. Munsell & Co., “Mr. Rice built the pioneer store; it was burned and he built on the same site the present one, now occupied by J. P. Rice.”

The “Democrat” newspaper for December 1st, 1826, names the retailers of foreign merchandise, among whom—as should be expected—was Jacob Rice. Under an Act of March 4th, 1824, he was levied ten dollars, because of this business pursuit.

Although travel seemed so easy for this man of action, mail service to the front door was then unknown. Further investigation of old newspapers shows that it was necessary even to advertise when mail was at the post office. Thus, for example, we read in the “Democrat” for April 18th, 1828, a “List of Letters, Remaining in the Post Office at Kingston, April 1st, 1828”, from which we learn that a letter was awaiting Jacob Rice.

At this stage of local history, the lately discovered utility of the “black diamonds” buried in the soil throughout the region, was beginning to have a noticeable effect upon the community. There arose a demand for a banking institution. Consequently, common stock at five dollars per share was offered in the spring of 1829 for the establishment of the Wyoming Bank at Wilkes-Barre. Among the few “farsighted, influential citizens of the community” who sub-

scribed, was Jacob Rice, who took two shares. From this modest beginning has emerged the present substantial Wyoming National Bank.

Many men after achieving prosperity following a long period of toil, feel that they have earned the right to relax. Not so with Jacob Rice. In 1830, he was engaged again in building, a chop and plaster mill this time. His eldest sons were now young men, and they were measuring up to the same high standard of industry, in accordance with their father's training. Business continued to increase. A result was that Jacob Rice was able to contribute liberally to worthy objects.

That a man of his practical mind should be equally engrossed in religion, may seem rather remarkable. The two phases of his character were inseparable.

When he first came to Wyoming Valley, he was a licensed exhorter. A small class, of which he was appointed leader, was soon organized. The influence of his conversion to Methodism by Rev. Elijah Woolsey never waned. The Rice home ever was regarded as a haven for itinerant preachers, whom he invited to conduct services in Trucksville.

In 1860, Rev. George Peck in his "Early Methodism" harked back to an event of 1825:

"A camp meeting was held in September near Truxville, on ground owned by the late Jacob Rice, which proved a great blessing to the Church. The camp-meeting at Rice's is still spoken of as 'the great camp-meeting.' We now frequently hear in love-feast, 'I was converted at the camp-meeting at Jacob Rice's.'

In 1834, Rice was licensed to preach; and in 1843, he was ordained a deacon. Always in earnest as a local preacher, he met with good success and was highly respected. He was stable, thorough, and trustworthy. "He visited back settlements; he travelled blind, unfrequented paths; he sought out the poor in their seclusion," and pointed out to them his conception of the eternal life and of a glorious home in Heaven.

He was a life member of the Parent Missionary Society. The Methodist Church received much support from him both in time and in money. In fact, the church in Trucksville, built in 1844, was made possible through him, Jacob Rice contributing the lot and one hundred dollars in cash.

The present edifice is not the original. Several times, descendants have donated a Jacob Rice memorial; but each time the building has been destroyed by fire.

Though deeply serious, Rice is remembered by granddaughters still living, as one who appreciated any humor in situations encountered. One day, for example, while he was preaching, a man under the influence of liquor approached him in jovial mood, saying, "I'm a man you converted." "You look like my work!" was the instantaneous reply.

That so extraordinary a man should be afflicted in later years with a paralysis which gradually impaired his physical and mental vigor until death climaxed all, was indeed a sad fate. But what ending could have been more fitting than that which came on December 18th, 1858? The customary family service of prayer was being held. Being unable to kneel, Jacob Rice stood to pray. Before he could finish, he fell upon his chair.

His son, Rev. Charles Lane Rice of the Wyoming Conference, afterwards wrote, "His children will always remember with the deepest gratitude his undeviating attention to family prayer."

Concerning this son, A. F. Chaffee, in his "History of the Wyoming Conference", has commented:

"His father, Rev. Jacob Rice, was one of the old-time local preachers, who was well known throughout the Wyoming Valley. The Lane in his name was in honor of Rev. George Lane, at one time one of the Book Concern agents, with whom his father was very intimate."

If a father may be judged by the character of his sons, the lustre of Jacob Rice's name remains untarnished. With his

wife, Sarah Cooke, must be shared the honors. It was she, even more than Jacob Rice, who molded the lives of the children for the Christian ministry. In a newspaper report of the celebration of Charles L. Rice's silver wedding anniversary and birthday, it was stated that he "spoke in a tenderly pathetic strain of his sainted mother, tracing his footsteps in that better pathway which she chose for him and in which she so sedulously guided him." It was not accidental that the ministry claimed three of her five sons—John Prutzman, Levi Cooke (named in memory of her father), and Charles Lane. It was the hospitable home awaiting itinerant preachers, which led to the marriage there of a daughter, Margaret Reed Rice, to Rev. Lyman Mumford, who set up housekeeping with his wife on an opposite hill in a home now owned by the Robinson family. And the other daughters did not stray from the pathway too far when one married a judge and the other the late Dr. Joel J. Rogers, humanitarian in the field of medicine.

Jacob Rice and Sarah Cooke lie buried in the original Rice lot adjoining the Trucksville Methodist Church. The cemetery of which this lot is a part, was included in the land which Jacob Rice gave to the church.

The inscriptions on the marble gravestones read:

"Sarah, wife of Rev. Jacob Rice,

died October 9, 1863

Aged 78 years, 6 months & 12 days.

"In my father's house are many mansions."

"Rev. Jacob Rice died December 18, 1858,

Aged 75 years, 5 months & 18 days.

"And they that be wise shall shine as
the brightness of the firmament and
they that turn many to righteousness,
as the stars forever and ever.

Dan. XI, 3."



... deceased.

Thomas Meredith,

Atty in fact for SAM'L MEREDITH,
Belmont, August 2. 126

PROPOSALS.

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THE SCRIBE."

CONTAINING LESSONS IN
MANNERS, MORALS, & DOMESTIC
ECONOMY.

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The work will be put to press im-
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NOTICE is hereby given, that a special
Meeting of

Proposal to Publish the Essays,
from The Gleaner for August 6, 1813.

FOREWORD.

Bohun, in characterizing the lawyer as the oracle of the community, spoke as a strict legalist; a broader point of view would have included, *inter alia*, the New England newspaper editors of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As the theologians of that region declined in authority, newspaper editors tended to assume the oracular functions of their community. When in 1796 James Springer of New London called his paper *The New London Weekly Oracle*, he gave expression to a commonly entertained opinion of the function of newspaper editors.¹ Their essays pointed the morals to all of the accepted standards of the community. The Greens, the Goddards, the Oswalds, the Croswells, and others of their profession have not been given their due share of credit for the assistance they rendered the New England clergy in keeping the community in touch with the homely virtues of that era of true "rugged individualism".

It is worth while to note the full title of the essays of Charles Miner: *Essays from the Desk of Poor Robert the Scribe Containing Lessons in Manners, Morals, and Domestic Economy*. The emphasis is less upon "Essays" than upon "Lessons". Thus, aside from their intrinsic literary merit, there is an extrinsic value in them as an historical document. They do not, of course, tell us what the "Manners, Morals, and Domestic Economy" of the community consisted of: they merely tell us what a typical New England editor thought they ought to consist of. And even that, of course, is of value to the historian. As Randolph G. Adams has recently expressed it: "What mankind thinks to be the fact is frequently more potent in human affairs than what the fact actually is".²

¹ There were, of course, other "Oracles" at this time, such as Negrin's *L'Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, New York, 1808; Pratt's *Farmer's Oracle*, Lansingburgh, New York, 1796; Dunn and Russell's *Indiana Oracle*, Laurenceburg, Indiana, 1819; and Allen and Wyeth's *Oracle of Dauphin*, Harrisburg, Pa., 1792.

² Adams, R. G., *Select Essays of James Wilson*, p. 14.

It will be observed that Miner has been classed as a New England editor, despite the fact that his whole journalistic career took place in Pennsylvania. Even more properly than Franklin or Goddard, who journeyed from New England to set up newspapers in Pennsylvania, Miner is deserving of this classification. For, like them, he not only served his apprenticeship in New England, but, unlike them, he found the great majority of his clientèle in Pennsylvania to be pure Connecticut stock. When in 1799, at the age of nineteen, Charles Miner drove his sled from Connecticut to the beech woods of Northeastern Pennsylvania, he found himself on the northern fringe of two settlements of Connecticut people: the one extending almost the whole length of the north branch of the Susquehanna, the other being along the upper reaches of the Delaware, with a sparsely-scattered population of the same racial stock settled between them. Except for the frontier environment, he was in the midst of associations and social ties as familiar as those he had known in Connecticut; it was a frontier only in the sense that the forests had never been cleared from the land. For missionaries kept the "New" Connecticut in touch with the predominant religion of the mother community;³ free schools according to the long-established custom in New England were in operation there, long before a similar system found adoption in the remainder of Pennsylvania;⁴ and the long contest with Pennsylvania over the title to the lands inhabited by the New Englanders, now drawing to a close, had provided a cohesive force for these "intruders" probably far in excess even of their own social institutions.

Miner had served his apprenticeship under the printers of

³ Turner, F. J., "The Significance of the Frontier in American History", *Am. Hist. Assn. Rept.*, 1893, pp. 225-26. See also the missionary journals to be published in volume XXII of the *Proceedings and Collections* of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

⁴ Spencer, P. W., *The Contribution of Connecticut to the Common School System of Pennsylvania*.

the *Connecticut Gazette and Commercial Intelligencer* at New London, Connecticut. But before launching upon his journalistic experience in Pennsylvania, another schooling awaited him at the end of a journey in which he found himself "one of a perfect stream of emigrants bound for different positions on the Susquehanna waters".⁵ This was the schooling in what he referred to as "Nature's Beech-wood Academy"—a euphemism for his clearing a place for a farm in a virtual wilderness where "no road had been laid out east or south within fifteen miles of me, nor nearer than ten miles on the west; and the preceding year, 1798, not an inhabitant existed within a circle of ten miles...."⁶ Two years of clearing well-timbered acres, eating bread baked from pounded corn mixed with stewed pumpkin, living in a bark cabin, and making maple sugar, preceded his journey down the river to Wilkes-Barré, only recently a frontier settlement, where he joined his brother Asher Miner in publishing the *Luzerne County Federalist*.

But Nature's Beech-wood Academy was merely a finishing school. At heart Charles Miner was, *par excellence*, a New England editor and Federalist to the end, and never a frontiersman. Yet the close contact with the rough forces of nature added the self-reliance and individualism of the frontier to his New England disciplines. If the frontier theory of American literature can be applied to two such remote individuals as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Sinclair Lewis, surely it can find proper application in these essays.⁷ For, if they carry the burden of Puritan social-overlordship, they also bring the freshness and the spontaneity which one associates with the clearing of virgin forests.

⁵ Richardson, C. F., *Charles Miner: a Pennsylvania Pioneer*; Miner's fragmentary autobiography, in manuscript in the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, contains much material not in Richardson's study.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁷ Hazard, Mrs. L. L., *The Frontier in American Literature*.

The essays of Poor Robert were published in Miner's *Gleaner and Luzerne Advertiser* in the years 1810-1813, a majority of them being published in 1811. Possibly the war of 1812 and Miner's increasing duties as a public man interfered with any further productivity of the desk of Poor Robert. In 1815 the essays were issued in a small volume from the press of Asher Miner at Doylestown, Pennsylvania. Three of these essays were published in the *Gleaner* but not in the Doylestown edition.⁸ Two of the essays and the "Poetic Effusion" were published in the Doylestown edition but have not been located in the newspaper.⁹ The Doylestown edition has been followed in reprinting these essays, but any important differences have been pointed out in the footnotes.

These essays emphasize the same homely virtues that Jonathan Edwards would have extolled, but how different the manner! One must not drink even a gill of brandy a day, for in a year that much brandy

would buy a cow, and keep her—
Two suits of clothes, a score of sheep, or
Twenty good things than Brandy cheaper.

And one must not procrastinate in repairing a barn door, for the cow might get through and ruin both herself and the wheat. Boys must not steal melons, for one might buy a dozen melons with the cost of ruined shoes and breeches, or with half the labor involved. A young lady must add another petticoat, not for modesty's sake, but to make her healthy. She must be educated, but she must not learn music till she has learned to spin, nor bake cake till she can bake bread, nor —price of your citizen's blood!—own a silk gown till she can answer, readily, all the questions in geography. She is an

⁸ These are: "To Poor Robert the Scribe", "Old Robert the Scribe", and "From the Drawer of Young Robert", appearing in the *Gleaner* July 12, 1811, November 26, 1813, and December 3, 1813, respectively.

⁹ These are: "Govern your Passions" and "Essay read by Mr. Clayton".

ideal wife when she can spin fifty knots a day. As for honesty, all those persons for whom these essays were written,

The blacksmith, the taylor,
The printer, the nailor
The hatter, the joiner,
The potter, the miner,
The farmer, physician,
Merchant, politician,
The saddler, and sawyer,
The priest, and lawyer,
The painter, and glazier,
The Mason, and grazier,

Will find that my maxim, so trite and so old,
To those who adopt it, brings honor and gold.

Steady industry was one of the greatest virtues. Miner's model citizen was Absolom Active, who "rides in his coach, on which are painted a bee, an ant, and a glass upside down, with this motto : 'Industry, Frugality, Temperance—by these I ride' ". As for quarrelling, cleanliness, neatness, and similar topics, they were "subjects of domestic economy, which the writers of your quarto and your folio volumes think below their notice; the preacher conceives them beneath the dignity of the sacred desk, and they must be untaught, unless some humble plodding wight, like 'Poor Robert the Scribe' shall take them into his special consideration".

These essays were widely copied by contemporary newspapers. The first one, indeed, has furnished the nation with an idiom so deeply ingrained in the language that even writers of the mother tongue, such as Mr. Chesterton, have adopted it. The essays brought Miner considerable notoriety at the time of their publication. "The editor of the *Gleaner*", wrote a contemporary, "has acquired the highest reputation among all ranks of people....His productions are copied into most of the papers from Maine to Ohio, and some of those in the South. Even the editor of the *National Intelligencer* cannot withhold, with all his Democratic austerity, from republishing some pieces which have no acrimony

against his beloved system of democracy. Everyone is charmed".¹⁰ And Miner himself wrote of these essays: "They made me many friends; among the rest the pioneer of American literature complimented me by a friendly note and a volume of his *Port Folio*".¹¹

Thus in the period between the Revolution and the Civil War, when American writing, in formal literature as well as in the writing of history and in other departments, was striving to set up American standards as opposed to Continental dictates,¹² such typical editors as Charles Miner were contributing their share to the task. Long before Emerson's Declaration of Intellectual Independence, these newspaper essayists were not only helping to make the American newspaper distinctly American, but they were also contributing to the development of an indigenous literature. These essays may not have back of them the literary tradition which produced the *Spectator* or the *Essays of Elia*, but they have in them the same qualities that made *Poor Richard's Almanac* so famous. These are the homely qualities infused by close contact with the soil of a new continent.

JULIAN P. BOYD.

¹⁰ Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59; Joseph Dennie was the author referred to.

¹² Jameson, J. F., *History of Historical Writing in America*, pp. 2-4.



ESSAYS
FROM THE DESK OF
POOR ROBERT
The Scribe.
CONTAINING
LESSONS
IN
MANNERS, MORALS, AND DOMESTIC
ECONOMY.

ORIGINALY PUBLISHED IN THE GLEANER.

DOYLESTOWN:

PRINTED BY ASHER MINER.

JULY—1815.

ESSAYS

FROM THE DESK OF

Poor Robert the Scribe.

WHO'LL TURN GRINDSTONE?*



WHEN I was a little boy, Messrs. Printers, I remember one cold winter's morning, I was accosted by a smiling man, with an axe on his shoulder—"My pretty boy," said he, "has your father a Grindstone?" "Yes Sir, said I." "You are a fine little fellow," said he, "will you let me grind my axe on it?" Pleased with his compliment of "fine little fellow"—"O yes sir"—I answered, "It is down in the shop." "And will you, my man," said he, patting me on the head, "get a little hot water?"—How could I refuse? I ran and soon brought a kettle full. "How old are you, and what's your name," continued he, without waiting for a reply—"I am sure you are one of the finest lads that I have ever seen, will you just turn a few minutes for me?" Tickled with the flattery, like a little fool, I went to work, and bitterly did I rue the day. It was a new axe—and I toiled, and tugged, till I was almost tired to death. The school bell rung, and I could not get away;—my hands were blistered, and it was not half ground. At length, however, the axe was sharpened, and the man turned to me, with "Now you little rascal, you've played the truant—scud to school, or you'll rue it." Alas, thought I, it was hard enough to turn grindstone, this cold day; but now to be called "little rascal," was too much.

*Published in the *Luserne Federalist* for Sept. 7, 1810. It is headed merely "for the Federalist," with no mention of the desk of Poor Robert the Scribe.

It sunk deep in my mind, and often have I thought of it since.

When I see a merchant, over polite to his customers—begging them to taste a little brandy, and throwing half his goods on the counter—thinks I—*That man has an axe to grind.*

When I see a man of doubtful character, patting a girl on the cheek—praising her sparkling eye and ruby lip, and giving her a sly squeeze—Beware my girl, thinks I, or you will find to your sorrow, *that you have been turning grindstone for a villain.*

When I see a man flattering the people—making great professions of attachment to liberty, who is in private life a tyrant—Methinks, look out, good people, *That fellow would set you to turning grindstone.*

When I see a man, holding a fat office, sounding “the horn on the borders”, to call the people to support the man, on whom he depends for his office, well thinks I, no wonder the man is zealous in the cause, he evidently *has an axe to grind.*

When I see a Governor, foisted into the chair of state, without a single qualification to render him either respectable or useful,—Alas! methinks, deluded people, you are doomed for a season to turn grindstone for a booby.

When I see a foreigner expelled from his own country, and turning patriot in this—setting up a PRESS, and making a great ado about OUR liberties, I am very apt to think, —tho' that man's ax has been dulled in his own country, he evidently intends to sharpen it in this.*

*In the reissue in book form the last three paragraphs were replaced by the following:

“When I see a man hoisted in office by party spirit—without a single qualification to render him either respectable or useful—Alas! methinks, deluded people, you are doomed for a season to turn grindstone for a booby.”

HEY DAY!*



A HAWK caught a parrot in his claws, and away he soared with his prey. Delighted with the ride so high in the air, the parrot sung, as he sailed along—"Hey day—hey day," and thought none so happy as he.—At length the hawk began to gripe the parrot still closer in his talons, and to tear him with his beak. The tune of the parrot was instantly changed, and instead of singing *hey day*, he exclaimed—*Od zucks! Od zucks!*

When I see a man tippling at the tavern, leaving his business, and sinking in credit; Poor fellow, thinks I, though it is *hey day* with you now; yet, when the constable comes—your money gone and credit lost, depend upon't, your tune will be changed, to *Od zucks!*

When I see a young girl, too fond of a forward sweetheart—playing the hoyden, and suffering improper liberties: Be cautious my pretty parrot, thinks I, keep that hawk at a greater distance, or your tune will be sorrowfully changed, and the *od zucks* of *lullaby baby!* will succeed to your *hey day* of enjoyment.

If I see a young man, dressing in the very pink of the mode—sporting his pretty person at all places of amusement—attending to no regular employment—no matter whether rich or poor, I would write on the frame of his looking-glass, though it may be *hey day* with you now, rely on it, my young friend, when you grow in years, and the talons of poverty and contempt begin to gripe you, in the anguish of your heart, you will sing a sad *od zucks* for your early folly.

*Published in *The Gleaner and Luserne Advertiser* for Feb. 15, 1811. First one to have heading "For the Gleaner. From the desk of Poor Robert the Scribe."

"THAT'S MUSIC."*



"MUSIC is the science of sounds," we are told by that crabbed looking old fellow, whose conversation was *music* to Boswell and Mrs. Thrale; but what sort of sounds he does not tell us. It is no matter—there is no disputing about tastes, and the sound that would be music to one ear, perhaps to another, would be more grating than the creaking of a waggon wheel.

The sportsman thinks no music equals that of his hounds, when they open in full cry. The citizen believes that no music can excell the harmony of the band.—A huntsman invited a city friend out to his country residence, to a fox-hunt. The morning came, and the friends rode out together.—As they ascended a little hill, the voice of the dogs broke on the ear. The huntsman, in an extacy of delight, exclaimed—"Hark! my dear fellow, do you hear that music?" The citizen listened—"Music," cried he, "no—I don't hear a note of it, the cursed dogs raise such a yell."

In return for the visit, the countryman waited on his friend in the city, who took him to the theatre;—the curtain had not yet risen, and the band from the orchestra struck up "The battle of Prague," in full chorus. Enraptured at the sound—"Listen my friend" said the cit, "did you ever hear such heavenly strains!" "I can't hear them for my life," cried the countryman, "those noisy fellows in the cellar make such a horrid racket."

To our bucks, the violin is the best music. To our merchants, it is music to hear the purse chink on the counter,—with "I'll take a couple of patterns, if you please." A just cause and a good fee, make excellent music to our lawyers.—

*Published in the *Gleaner and Luzerne Advertiser* for Feb. 22, 1811.

"Will you take a sleigh-ride to Colt's, Miss?" is music to our young ladies; but—

"Will you marry me, my pretty maid?"

when the question comes from the favorite lad, possesses all the charms of harmony and melody combined. And to the printer, it is music to be told, "I have brought you a half a dozen new patrons."

But, to old Robert, I will tell you what is music. To rise as the morning "peers through the golden windows of the east," and to hear the hammer of industry resounding through the village.—

To walk up the bank, to the cabin of the old blind soldier, and to hear him say, "I fought for my country when I was young, and now, though I am old and blind, I am comfortable, for my countrymen are not ungrateful—they remember me this cold and inclement season"—that would be music.

Ye, who are favored with plenty—Ye, who are blest in your "basket and your store," now, while the cold winds of winter blow so cheerlessly around us, forget not the Poor; but by your charities, light up the smile of joy and gratitude in the houses of the children of want. Then will your consciences tell you *well done*—and oh!—that will be *delightful music.*



What great effects from little causes spring:
What wealth, does labor well directed, bring.*



A SINGLE stroke of an axe is of little consequence; yet, by the continual application of that small power, properly directed, what amazing effects are produced! The sturdy oak and lofty pine do not singly own its influence, but whole forests fall before it, and the wilderness becomes a garden.

*Published in the *Gleaner and Luzerne Advertiser* for March 1, 1811.

Industry, well directed, will give any man a competency in ten years. The greatest industry, misapplied, is useless.

My neighbor, SAMUEL STEADY, is not only an industrious man, but his industry is applied directly to one object. His hammer is heard at the cock's crowing, and the fire blazes in his shop, during the winter evenings, from the twentieth of September to the twentieth of March, according to the old Seabrook platform. Go to his shop, at any time of the day, and bespeak a plane-iron or a plough-share—a grate or a gridiron—you are sure to be promptly supplied. The consequence is, his old purse is filled with dollars—and his cellar well stored with beef, pork and cider—"and that's what I call comfortable." Although suitably liberal, and enjoying the good things of life as he goes on—ten years of health will enable him to buy the best plantation in the county.

But then there's my young friend, NATHAN NOTIONAL; he is the busiest and most industrious mortal in existence;—but as the old saying is, "he has too many irons in the fire," and with all his industry, he goes behind-hand.

He has a fine farm, but instead of pursuing the cultivation of it, he flies off and seizes on every new project that presents itself. Last year, after having sown a number of fields of grain, he resolved to rent his farm—sell the grain on the ground—buy a team, and go to hauling, for, by a nice calculation, he had proved that money might be made by it. A team was purchased; but after one or two trips, Notional concluded to sell his waggon and horses—build a saw-mill, and go largely into the lumber trade. The dam was completed, the irons made, and three-fourths of the expense incurred, when by a nice calculation, (for no one makes nicer calculations) he found that an oil-mill would afford the best profit; and to work he went with great industry building an oil-mill. I happened to go by there, a week or two afterwards, and the whole organization of the mill was

undergoing an alteration, to fit it up for a cotton and woollen manufactory.

A quizzical neighbor of mine, intends to-morrow, to propose to him to abandon his present project, and to enter largely into the manufacture of flour; and I have not the least doubt but NATHAN will readily accede to the proposal.

So sirs, with all his industry and expence, he is neither benefitting himself nor the public. Such a course, continued ten years, would sink the best farm in the county.

If you would kill game, it is true, you must shoot;
But then you must AIM, and hold STEADY, to boot.

"It has a fine gloss, but it won't wear well."*

My cousin JACOB, you must know, keeps up the good old custom of his ancestors, of making new years' presents to his family. So on the first day of January, Anno Domini 1793, according to immemorial usage, precisely at twelve o'clock, "not a minute earlier, nor a minute later," he called his family around him, in the parlor—opened his budget, and gave to each one the present he had provided. The whole family were in a right good humor. JACOB well knew how to hit the fancy of every one of his family, and no one was dissatisfied. But it was admitted on all hands, that Dolly's new gown was the neatest. It was right it should be, for Dolly was to be married, that day two weeks. My Grandmother, who was trying her new spectacles, which had been presented to her, hearing so much of Dolly's new gown, begged to look at it. She is a pretty shrewd old lady, and has a manner of saying shrewd things, which makes one remember them. Looking at the chintz—"It has a fine gloss,"

*Published in the *Gleaner and Luzerne Advertiser* for March 15, 1811.

said she, "*but it won't wear well.*"—It struck me very forcibly, and I have often thought of it since.

When I see a young girl—finely dressed, but very indolent—who curls her hair and cuts a pigeon-wing in the newest style—yet, who could not dress a fowl, nor mend her husband's stockings—I can't help thinking, with my Grandmother—"She has a fine gloss, but she won't wear well."

When I see a dashing young fellow, spending much of his time in dress or at cards; talking largely of what he is going to do, and yet doing nothing profitable—whispering fine things in the ladies' ears, and dancing after them like their shadows—neglecting his business, and pursuing no regular employment, I would advise the girl he makes love to—to remember the saying of my Grandmother—"Though he has a fine gloss, depend on it he won't wear well."

Should I ever live to see a set of politicians, professing great regard for the people's rights, and yet neglecting or trampling on them—declaring their attachment to economy, and yet squandering the public money on foolish favorites, or useless projects—taking measures avowedly to coerce foreign states, and yet every measure invariably recoiling on our own citizens—no matter what party it should be, or how fair their professions—I should be very apt to think with my Grandmother—"Though they have a fine gloss, it is very evident they don't wear well."

But should I see politicians professing well, and practising what they profess—expending the public money liberally on great objects of national improvement—maintaining the public rights, with a spirit and dignity, that appals and checks the first approaches of insult or aggression—neither flattering the prejudices of the people, nor neglecting their interests—such politicians, I should say, had a *fine gloss*—and their fame should long wear in the plaudits of a grateful and happy people.

TEMPERANCE.*

◆◆◆

A gill a day—the thing is clear,
Twenty-three gallons makes a year,
Now this would buy a cow, and keep her—
Two suits of clothes, a score of sheep—or
Twenty good things than Brandy cheaper.

Old Robert.

◆◆◆

THERE in a pleasant little village, which stands on the borders of a small lake, in the western part of Connecticut. A tavern, the only one in town, kept at the sign of the Grey Goose, entertained the passing stranger; and in the winter evenings was the resort of our dancing parties—for “Old Robert” used to dance in his younger days. I remember well the merry evenings I have enjoyed there, and methinks I could still “tire down” the puny striplings of the present day.

Among the companions of our recreations, were two, whose vivacity and wit I could not but admire—and whose good nature and virtues, I could not but love.—**ABSALOM ACTIVE** was the eldest of my friends: His father was poor, but he gave **ABSALOM** a good common education, and then bound him apprentice to a respectable waggon-maker of the town. When last I saw **ABSALOM**, before my late visit to Applebury, it was his birth and wedding night. Just twenty-three years old—he had married black eyed **SUSAN**, as we called her—and she might as well been called red lip’d **SUSAN**, for I never saw cherries redder. He had taken a shop for himself, and having got a journeyman from New York, had added the making of chaises to his old business.

ABSALOM was industrious—**ABSALOM** was frugal; above all **ABSALOM** was TEMPERATE. “Grog and I,” he used

*Published in the *Gleaner and Luzerne Advertiser* for Apr. 5, 1811.

to say, "are sworn enemies."—Not but, now and then, he would take a glass of wine, or a mug of flip, with a friend; but he drank sparingly. They do say, though, that one fourth of July his eyes sparkled a little, and he could not say Sheboleth for the soul of him. But that is neither here nor there, he was a sober man.

And what do you think was the consequence? Why, when I went to Applebury last October, who should I hear them talk of, but the good 'Squire ACTIVE—and Deacon ACTIVE. Why he has money to lend—he owns two of the best farms on the south side of the lake—the poor all bless him. He now rides in his coach, on which are painted a *Bee*, an *Ant*, and a *Glass upside down*, with this motto—"INDUSTRY—FRUGALITY—TEMPERANCE. *By these I ride.*"

EDWARD EASY, my other friend and companion, received from his father a fortune of five thousand pounds. At the age of nineteen he took his degree at Yale, with singular honor. The profession of the law, suiting best his capacity and inclination, he studied the science under the most approved masters, and at twenty-two appeared at the bar. I never shall forget the day when he made his first plea. All Applebury went down to hear him—for EDWARD was a favorite of the people: And well he might be, for there wasn't a single one in all the village but could tell of some good and kind thing he had done.

The cause he plead, was for a poor widow woman. You may remember her: it was old Mrs. Rogers, who sold ginger-bread and beer, just above the stocks and whipping post, north of the meeting house. She had an only daughter, a sweet little rosebud, just seventeen, who was the solace and delight of her life. An unfeeling landlord demanded the sacrifice of MARY, or threatened her ruin.

Well, the court was opened—the witnesses examined—and it came Edward's turn to speak. He rose—O! he was a handsome man, but now his cheek looked pale—his lip

trembled—and his white hand shook. My heart trembled for fear he would not go on. By-and-by his voice rose—his cheeks resumed their color—he raised his arm most gracefully, and his eye sparkled. You might have heard a pin fall. He one moment stirred up the feelings so against the hard-hearted landlord that every one was in a rage. And then he painted the sufferings of the widow and the orphan—in spite of me, I cried like a child. I never loved him half so well in my life. Our parson, I remember said, that—"the oil of eloquence was on his tongue, and the honey of persuasion distilled from his lips."

I left him just on the eve of being married to EUNICE HEARTFREE. She was worthy of him—she danced delightfully—sung sweetly—could spin fifty knots a day—and the parson's wife was heard to say, that "she made the best puddings of any one in the village, except herself."

Now until the fourth day of last October, I had not been to Applebury for eighteen years. Just as the old town clock struck four, I entered the village. My heart fluttered. I looked anxiously around in hopes to meet the welcome of some friend. A gloom and solemn stillness seemed to pervade the village. Presently the bell tolled—a funeral procession approached. I alighted at the inn and immediately enquired who was dead. "Alas the day!" exclaimed the old tavern-keeper, (who did not know me) "there goes the remains of a man, who eighteen years ago was the most promising youth in all the country. Fortune—education—genius—all united to render him every thing. But the morning bitters—the noon-day dram, and the evening sling, have withered the finest flower in nature's garden. Poor EASY! God rest him."

* * * * *

EDWARD had been *intemperate*.—Intemperance begat idleness and neglect of business—poverty and wretchedness followed—and he, who might have reflected honor on

his country, poisoned by Grog, died a beggar. But "men of genius, tread lightly on his ashes, for he was your kinsman," and if you would avoid his fate, declare with my friend ACTIVE that "you and Grog are sworn enemies."

"I WILL BY AND BY."*

ZOUNDS! sir, you may as well swear you'll never do it! I'm out of all patience with these "by and by" folks. One hour of the present tense is worth a week in the future.

Why, I know a bachelor, as well calculated for matrimonial felicity, as every virtue and every accomplishment, can render him; but he has been putting off the happy time, from one year to another, always resolving that he would marry "by and by"—and "by and by"—till the best ten years of manhood are gone, and he is still "re-resolving," and I fear "will die the same."

He that would gather the roses of matrimony, should wed in the May of life.—If you wish only the withered leaves and the thorns, why, Poor Robert says, put it off till September.—"Procrastination is the thief of time."

I made a visit last winter, to see my old friend JEREMY CARELESS. When we put our horses in the stable, he took me to his barn-floor to see some fine white wheat he had just threshed. I observed to him that one of the boards of the barn was near falling, and he had better nail it. "I will by and by," said he. Things about the farm looked a little as though "by and by" folks lived there. Next morning the boys came running in, with sad news. An unruly bull had torn off the board:—All the cattle had supped and breakfasted on the white wheat, and old Brindle, the best cow in the flock, was foundered so that she died. Now two

*Published in the *Gleaner and Luserne Advertiser* for April 26, 1811.

nails, worth a penny—and five minutes of time, would have saved the life of old Brindle, and the white wheat into the bargain. “A stitch in time saves nine.”

Passing by my neighbor NODWELL’S, the other day, I saw that his wife had made a fine garden, and the early peas were shooting luxuriantly above the ground. “It looks well,” said I, “neighbor—but there is a hole in your fence, which you had better mend, or the hogs will ruin your garden.” “I will by and by,” said he. Happening to go by there two days after, I was half deafened with the cry of—“Who-ee—who-ee—stu-boy—stu-boy.” A drove of hogs had come along, and while my neighbor was taking a nap, they had crawled through the broken fence, and destroyed the labor of a week. “Never put off till to-morrow, what you can do to-day”—poor Robert says.

ONE* afternoon, in the month of October, a young gentleman from Philadelphia, who had visited Luzerne to enjoy the pleasures of the chase, was standing with his rifle, on the verge of one of those high precipices which bound the river Susquehanna, watching the eagle as he sailed far below him along the breast of the cliff, when he was suddenly awakened from his reverie by the shriek of a female voice. Turning suddenly around, he saw a young horse, which being frightened, had run away with his rider and was rushing impetuously towards the precipice. He was too far off even to attempt to throw himself before the affighted animal:—One expedient only presented itself. With unerring aim he drew up his rifle, and the horse fell on the very brink of the cliff.

The stranger ran to the assistance of the unfortunate female. Though pale as the tenant of the grave, a lovelier object never met his view. Her dark hair fell loosely on her cold bosom—she was lifeless. He raised her in his arms and bore her to the hamlet at the foot of the hill.

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By the assistance of the cottagers, *Mary* was soon sufficiently restored to be removed to the house of her father, which was not far distant. A fever ensued, and *William*, whose extensive studies had given him some knowledge in medicine, attracted by a charm which he could neither resist nor define, resolved to remain and prescribe for *Mary*, until her fate should be determined.

Old Captain *Freeman* was a soldier in the revolution, and at the side of *Washington* and *Hamilton* gallantly devoted his early days to the service of his country. At the close of the war, he retired with a soldier's fortune, his honor and his scars, to a little farm on the bank of the Susquehannah, accompanied by his beloved *Lucy*, the wife of his affections, and *Alfred*, his old and faithful servant.

In this sylvan retreat he had long lived, respected and beloved by every one. His hospitable mansion was always open to the passing stranger:—his table always spread for the poor. Sensible, and inflexibly just, the whole neighborhood referred their disputes to his decision, which was ever satisfactory and conclusive. Cheerful as youth, the old men mingled in the innocent amusements of the cottagers: Benevolent as charity, he was the unfailing attendant at the bed of sickness. And above all, a piety springing from the heart and flowing in supreme love to his Maker, and the kindest affections to his fellow men, ennobled his soul—exalted all his virtues—and assimilated his character to that of the patriarchs of old.

One daughter was the only fruit of his marriage, and *Mary*, whose life the stranger had providentially preserved, was cherished by her fond parents with more care than the apple of their eye. O! she was a sweet blossom. The wild rose of the hill was not so fragrant as her coral lips. The dew drop sparkled not with half the lustre of her eye, and her bosom had stolen the whiteness of the mountain snow. I have seen the old veteran's eye fill with tears of joy and pride, when *Mary*, light as a vision, and bright as an angel,

came tripping through the room. Her goodness was witnessed by the poor and the sick, through all the neighborhood. She would at any time leave the dance or the play, to visit the couch of sickness, or the habitation of distress. The poor used to call her their guardian spirit, lent them from Heaven, to relieve the miseries of this sorrowing world. And then she was as sensible and accomplished, as she was beautiful and kind. Indeed, when I have visited my old friend, I have often wished, with a sigh, that I was but young enough and good enough for her:—But, heigh ho! poor Robert is an old bachelor, and it is useless to

“Mind me of departed joys,
Departed, never to return.”

Mary was just eighteen, when the accident happened which introduced the accomplished and fascinating stranger, to her knowledge. By his kindness, and that of her parents, she slowly recovered; but the lively radiance of her fine blue eyes was changed to a mild and pensive sweetness, less dazzling, but oh! to the heart of sensibility, how interesting—the lilly stole the rose’s blossom—the throbbing heart, and expressive flush, that rose when *William* entered the room, too plainly told, that love, obtrusive urchin, had entered the cottage of *Mary* with the stranger.

William was the most accomplished man *Mary* had ever seen. Pleasing in his manners—insinuating in his address—sensible and handsome; and the preserver too, of her life! What female heart could be insensible to so much excellence! The affectionate and assiduous attentions of *William*, soon restored *Mary* in some degree, to her former health, and the chain that had so long detained him, gathering new strength, he found it impossible to break a connexion that was already so dear to him.

All Franksburg talked of the courtship, and when I saw *William* and *Mary* lead down in the dance together, I could not help thinking they were formed for each other.—



I went up to Franksburg last fall to visit my old friend, and to congratulate him on the proposed connexion. It was one of those pleasant, moon-light evenings, in the month of September, when I arrived at the gate, such as had always been enlivened by the song and the dance, under the old elm by the door. But the sound of joy was no more heard on the green. *William* was gone—the cheek of the soldier was wet with anguish—and the wife of his bosom seemed fast declining in sorrow to the grave.

Pale and dejected, *Mary* sat by the window, her head reclining on her hand.—Her eye, moistened by no tear, was fixed on vacancy, or wandered heedlessly from object to object:—Seduced by the man who had saved her life, she was soon to become a mother!

The old man took my hand—pressed it between his:—“This is an ungrateful world,” said he. His heart swelled—he turned away to conceal his emotion. An aged missionary, whose hair was silvered over with the frosts of seventy winters, endeavored to turn their affections to another world, and to lead them for consolation beyond the tomb.

Ye votaries of pleasure:—Ye gay, ye wanton seducers of the fair, whom you should protect:—O! could you have seen the cottage of poor *Freeman*, your infamous trophies over deluded innocence would have been scorpions to your consciences.

Such ruin—Hark!—the watch dog announces a stranger! The door opened, and in a moment we beheld *William* at the feet of her father. *Mary* shrieked and fainted. “I come, I come,” said he “for forgiveness; I come to offer you all the reparation in my power. Not a moment of happiness have I known since I left you.”

O noble youth! thou hast set a pattern by thy return to virtue, most worthy to be followed!

NEATNESS.*

Though she in wit and fortune shine:—
In form and beauty be divine;
A SLUT shall ne'er be wife of mine.



THERE are some precepts, very proper to be given in domestic economy, which the writers of your quarto and your folio volumes, think below their notice; the preacher conceives them beneath the dignity of the sacred desk, and they must be untaught, unless some humble, plodding wight, like "Poor Robert the Scribe," shall take them into his special consideration: And among these one on CLEANLINESS is not the least important.

Some writer has observed, (and I think I saw the observation in the Gleaner) that "cleanliness is allied to godliness." Certain it is, that there is an intimate connexion between the purity of the body and the purity of the mind. No woman can be lovely who is not neat. The fairest *she* that ever trod the earth, though young and blooming as Hebe—though "grace were in her step—heaven in her eye—and all her gestures dignity and love," should she appear abroad with her neck soiled or her wrists greasy, believe me, dear girls, she would excite only disgust. When *Paris* decided that the most delicate and important point, on the southwestern declivity of Mount Ida, had *Venus* appeared with her mouth greased, like** the fat landlady's in Courtland-street, depend on it she never would have been honored with the apple.

The poets, well aware of the prime necessity of cleanliness, in the composition of a lovely woman, have in most instances placed their beauties near some silver stream or lucid lake. The queen of love is represented as emerging from the sea.—*Diana* as bathing.—Mother *Eve* has a chrystral lake for a

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No title in newspaper.

**Given in newspaper—an alderman's wife at a turtle feast.

mirror. *Musidora*, though she seems not to have adopted the coy conduct and cold maxims of Miss *Dian*, was yet, like her goddess-ship, caught by her lover, laving her lovely limbs in the pure stream.

Harry Hawkeye, of the city of New York, was a young gentleman of much sprightliness and wit; genteel in his manners—of graceful person, and possessing a handsome fortune. You may easily guess that all the girls set their caps for him.—*Harry*, though not too fastidious, was yet desirous of getting a neat wife. “Beauty,” said he “is desirable—good sense and good nature necessary—but neatness,” added he, “is *indispensable*.” A young lady with whom he became acquainted, added to a fine person, regular features, wit and good nature, and a fortune of ten thousand dollars. *Dorothy Harley*, for that was her name, was well pleased with the attentions of *Harry*. The courtship went on, and everybody considered it an excellent match.

One afternoon, *Harry* went up to her father’s, which was a little way in the country, to spend a few hours with his *Dorothy*, and to partake of some of their excellent strawberries, which were at that season in high perfection. Seated in a delightful arbor in the garden, they chatted awhile, as you may suppose, of love; and then she ran to bring, with her own hand, some strawberries and cream. After regaling themselves with the delicious treat, *Harry*, playing with his saucer, chanced to turn it bottom upwards in his lap.—What was his mortification and astonishment, when he beheld the bottom of the saucer black with dirt! It would have posed a man of less sensibility than he possessed. He seized an opportunity, and wrote on the grease with the end of the spoon, the following lines, and left the house, which he visited no more.

Though she in wit and fortune shine:—

In form and beauty be divine;

A SLUT shall ne’er be wife of mine.

Harry.

"TAKE TIME BY THE FORETOP."*



OLD grandfather time, so far as I have seen him pictured in all the editions of the New-England primer, is as bald as a cobler's lap-stone. The text therefore cannot be taken literally. To make you understand it aright—and it is full of wisdom—is my present purpose. Gentle reader, to "take time by the foretop," means nothing more nor less than to *do your business in season.*

Are you a mechanic—enter on your day-book every thing you let go on credit, at the moment you dispose of it; never put it off till another time; the memory is treacherous, and you may forget the number or the price. Post your books every Saturday.—Look frequently at your accounts. He who looks at his books often, understands them well and always turns to them with pleasure: while the man who posts his books but once in a year, and turns to them but seldom, always does it with reluctance; he hates to settle an account, and had rather lose a few cents than draw off the bill; and thus he loses the worth of a good cow in the year by his indolence.—I mentioned cents. They are little things; but recollect what Old Robert says—"many a mickle makes a muckle." Cents make dollars—grains of wheat, though little things, make up thousands of bushels. "Take care of the cents and the dollars will take care of themselves." Go in debt as little as possible, and never for things not absolutely necessary. Keep debt and credit; you can then tell how you stand with the world. Settle your account as often as once a year with everybody; if you cannot get the balances due you, take notes on interest. Keep this number of Old Robert, and read it over once in a while. Now the man who will pursue this advice, will not only do his business with ten

*Published in the *Gleaner and Luzerne Advertiser* for May 24, 1811.

times more ease to himself and customers, but he will save enough to clothe his children and send them to school.

Are you a farmer? It is particularly necessary that you should "take time by the foretop." The whole profits of the husbandman depend on his business being done in season. If a week gets the start of you in the spring, you may chase it all summer without overtaking it.

Now there's neighbor *Scrabble*;—he has a good farm, and is a hard-working, frugal man; nevertheless he is always behind-hand. He plants his corn when all the neighbors are weeding their's. It gets hoed but once, because harvest presses upon him—the early frost generally kills half that the weeds don't choke; and the consequence is, that an acre, which ought to yield him fifty bushels, turns out but fifteen or twenty.—Come, Mr. *Scrabble*, pull up—overtake time for once—get your crops in well, and in season, and your labor will be easier by half and twice as profitable.

When I was last at Applebury, I went to see my old acquaintance, Mrs. *Mobcap*; though a very clever woman, she never yet learned to "take time by the foretop." The consequence was, her kitchen looked as though it was slut's holyday. The hearth was covered with pots—the sink full of dishes—the dog was running away with the dishcloth, and madam, in full pursuit with a broomstick, chanced to step on a mashed potatoe—up flew her heels—and I do believe on my honor, she would have shown her garters, but she had just pulled them off to tie the broken dasher of the churn. When her ladyship had adjusted her dress, she made a thousand excuses for looking all at sixes and sevens, but really she had got a little behind in her work:—To make amends, the good woman seized the broom, and I was glad to retreat from being buried in the dust.

Ladies, listen to Old Robert. Whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing well. Do one thing at a time, and finish what you begin. Keep your kitchens as neat as your

parlors. Be regular in your domestic duties. Always wash on Mondays, and for the credit of your daughters, if you have to rise by day-light, be sure to have your clothes hung out before noon, and your baking finished before dinner. Keep your children neat, and when they grow up they will keep themselves clean. As to the article of scolding, I know it would be useless to prohibit it altogether; but I pray you forbear as much as possible, for there is nothing so illy becomes the rosy lip of a pretty woman, as a scowl or an angry expression.

—————
“He loses all, who grasps too much.”*

—————

A spider one night toiled with great industry to finish his web, and early in the morning as he retired to his hiding-place, he spoke thus to himself:—“Now, having set my snare artful and strong, I’ll have a fine breakfast.”

It was not long before a promiscuous swarm of flies, gnats, and bees, attracted by the beauty of the morning, came buzzing around, and two or three small flies got entangled in the web, but with a little struggle, released themselves from the snare.—The dainty spider, in the meantime, neglecting to seize on the little flies within his reach, kept back, waiting for a daintier bit. A honey-bee that was buzzing around, pretty soon, unconscious of his danger, flew into the net, and was by his fluttering, deeper and deeper entangled in the toils. Fat and plump, and swelling with honey, the delighted spider ran from his covert, and eagerly seized on his victim.

As he rush'd forth, he cri'd with exultation,
“I've got the finest breakfast in the nation.”

No sooner did the spider seize his prey, than the bee, turn-

*Published in *Gleaner and Luzerne Advertiser* for June 14, 1811.
No title in newspaper.

ing to defend himself, plunged his sting, deep into the foe. "Alas!" groaned the spider, (in plain prose, for his spirit of poetry was gone) as he hobbled back in agony to his hole, "what a fool was I to let go so many opportunities of satisfying a reasonable appetite, for the sake of a feast.—Had I been content with a competence,* I might still have lived; but by seeking to gorge on a honey-bee, I have got nothing but the sting."

Poor spider! if it be true that misery finds relief in having company, you are not without ample sources of consolation.

When I see a farmer or mechanic, who is in a snug way of business in his profession, dashing largely into speculation or trade—be cautious my friend, thinks I, or like the spider "instead of a bee you will meet with nothing but a sting."

When I see a man building a house, larger than his necessities require, or his means will justify, and running in debt to finish it—methinks, my friend, though you may flatter yourself that you are providing a feast of honey or a fat bee, be cautious, or you will meet with the sting of bitter disappointment.—(O Robert! Robert!)

When I see a young man, aiming at more than his talents, his education, or his character entitle him to expect; proud—supercilious, contemptuous to his equals, and aspiring—I would write this caution on his looking-glass—My friend, aim at filling the station nature intended you to occupy, and you may appear respectable; but by seeking too much, you will only meet the *sting* of contempt.

Should I ever see a nation, instead of cherishing the resources within its power, intent on plunging the country into a war, useless as to any probable result, and with a nation that like a bee, is a valuable friend, but a dangerous enemy, could I get an introduction at court, I would certainly whisper in the ear of the chief—"Reflect, sir, before you

*Newspaper version:—with what was reasonably sufficient.

proceed, for there is a great chance, that like the poor spider, you may instead of getting a feast, come groaning back smarting with the sting of disgrace and disappointment.

There was a young man at Applebury, whose father retired from business, leaving him his store and his trade. *John Dashwell*, (for that was the young merchant's name) was able the first year to meet all expences, and to lay up four hundred dollars of clear gain, besides some little profits that stood out in debts; and his business, there was every reasonable prospect, would gradually increase. But *John* was not satisfied with the competence Providence had placed so fairly within his reach, but sighed like the spider, for some great feast at once. So he sold out his stock,* removed to New York, where he entered largely into the shipping trade. Five years after poor *Dashwell's* name was on the list of insolvents. Like the Spider he got bitterly stung by grasping at more than necessity required, or fortune had placed within his reach.

[*Translation of an Old Indian Manuscript.***]

ORONOCO was the daughter of a warrior—she was an only child, and the wild rose had long blossomed on the grave of her mother. Her father was fearless as the panther that rushes on his prey. The battle gladdened his soul, and terrible was his arm in the conflict. The groan of death was sweet to his ear. The conflagration of cornfields and villages was pleasant to his eye. When the captive warrior was led to the stake, *Karkaronka* was foremost to torment him, and his yell was heard from afar.—The mild accents of mercy

*Newspaper version:—struck his tent and marched.

**Published in *Gleaner and Luzerne Advertiser* for July 26 and Aug. 2, 1811. First part has no title in newspaper and second part is headed Oronoco.

found no sympathy in his soul, and he frowned gloomily when his fellow chieftains spoke of peace.

Oronoco, straight as the forest pine, rose in majesty above her companions:—nimble as the fleeting doe, her foot was lightest in the dance:—she sung in wild notes the perils of the brave. The hills delighted to echo back her voice, and the little birds hushed their songs to hear the melody of her strains. Timid as the hare that flies from every danger, she feared for the safety of her father: she loved him, for he was her parent, but she trembled in his presence, for the darkness of his savage soul cast a gloom around him, and chilled even the warrior into silence.—The feast and the song passed him unmoved. He delighted only in the battle and the sacrifice.

On the delightful plains where the Tunkhannock and the Susquehannah unite their waters, dwelt the tribe of old *Karkaronka*. Long had a war, bloody and revengeful, raged between his tribe, and that of *Oatalissa*, who dwelt below, on the banks of the swift-rolling Lackawana.

Oatalissa, though in war not less brave than his foe, in peace was gentle and humane. When the battle raged, fierce as the wolf rends the timorous fawn, he sacrificed the foe. He gloried in noble deeds, and loved the field of fame. Like his native stream, swollen by continual rains, roaring, foaming, and with resistless force, sweeping away all that impeded its progress—so, *Oatalissa*, in war, rose terrible and irresistible on his foes. But as when the storm ceases and the flood subsides, smooth is the bosom of the stream, reflecting every pleasant object; so the bosom of *Oatalissa*, when the storm of war had ceased, became calm and unruffled and was the seat of every virtue.

The warrior of Lackawana was yet in the spring of life, and had taken no partner to his cabin. His father had fallen in battle. The war which raged between his tribe and that of *Karkaronka*, was interrupted, but not ended by the winter;

and on the approach of spring, preparations, on both sides, were making to renew it with vigor.

The spring rains had fallen—the waters rose—the ice gave way in the Susquehanna—the torrent foamed, and the ice and the timber crashed together, when a faint cry of distress reached the ear of *Oatalissa*, who stood on the bank of the river, leaning on his spear, contemplating the scene.

In the midst of the flood, hemmed in by fields of ice, and hurried away by the current, in a small canoe, sat a female, who raised her hand, imploring assistance. The voice of distress never called to *Oatalissa* in vain. Braving the danger of the flood he launched his canoe—pushed through the fields of ice—stemmed the raging torrent—rescued the sufferer, and brought her, though far below, in safety to the shore.

Chilled with cold and overcome with exertion, he was scarcely able to bear the stranger to his cabin; but kindness nerved his arm, and he placed his charge in the care of his mother. The waters had risen and driven the tribe of *Karkaronka* from their low lands to the mountain, when *Oronoco*, attempting to return in her canoe to the cabin for a favorite tomahawk of her father's, was swept away by the current, apparently to inevitable destruction.

Oatalissa knew *Oronoco* was the only child of his inveterate foe. But how different were his feelings on meeting the tender and expressive glance of the child, from those excited by the haughty, revengeful frown of the sire. The heart of *Oatalissa* was not insensible to love; and *Oronoco* felt warmer sensations than those of gratitude to her deliverer. The other chiefs of the Lackawana tribe, when they learned that the daughter of the gloomy and terrible *Karkaronka* was in their power, determined that she should be kept as a hostage for the conduct of her father. But the soul of *Oatalissa* was fixed in its purpose. He led *Oronoco* to the brow of the hill that overlooked the village of her tribe,

pointed to her the path and bade her speed in safety to her home; not even proffering her his love while she was in his power, lest his desire should wear the semblance of a command.

But when she had returned to the habitation of her father, *Outalissa*, by a trusty chief sent her a token of his regard; and to *Karkaronka* he proposed terms of peace, offering his hand to *Oronoco* as a pledge of his sincerity. The old chief would listen to no terms of peace, and he heard with scorn the solicitations for his daughter. "I had rather," said he coldly, "she had perished in the stream." Yet *Oronoco*, unknown to her father, sent back a remembrance of her affection; thus according to the custom of their country, were they betrothed, although the war at that time, and the revengeful spirit of her father, would probably forever prevent the consummation of their love.—But love like the mountain-stream swells with resistance.

Again the war-whoop echoed along the mountain—the tomahawk flew from every covert—and the warrior fell. Again the raven croaked around the carcases of the slain, and the wolves gorged themselves with human gore.—The war-song and the groans of the victim at the stake, broke on the stillness of the night, and died away in melancholy murmurs along the vale.

The cruelties of *Karkaronka* increased with the continuance of the war; and the fellow chiefs of *Outalissa* grew every day more and more dissatisfied, that *Oronoco* had been given up to her father. "The time was," said they in scorn, "when *Outalissa* sought the arm of *Karkaronka* in the fight—now he shuns him: Is it fear—or is it love, that hath made a woman of *Outalissa*?"—Stung by their undeserved reproaches, the brave warrior pressed forward into every danger, and was always foremost in the battle. His arm, like the lightning, left death wherever it fell; his voice struck dismay into the bosom of his foes. *Karkaronka* saw his im-

petuosity;—his soul joyed in the hope of a distinguished victim;—he laid an ambush in the thicket—charged, and then retreated, as though overcome by his foe. *Oatalissa* rushed forward;—the ambushed warriors rose around him:—Wounded and overcome by numbers, *Oatalissa* fell into the hands of his enemies.

The warriors of Tunkhannock retired with their prey to the village, and the old warriors and the young, gathered around to see the brave chief of the Lackawanas.—*Oatalissa's* proud spirit scorned to ask for mercy, and a night was fixed on when he was to be led to the stake, to be sacrificed according to the savage custom of his foes.

Oronoco saw her deliverer and her friend doomed to perish. The force of love overcame the terrors of her stern father's frown, she threw herself on her knees before him, and implored the life of *Oatalissa*. The gloomy *Karkaronka*, indignant at her request, spurned her from his feet.

Although the bosom of *Oronoco* was the seat of all the woman's softness, yet was the germ of a daring spirit implanted there. Spurned from the feet of a cruel father—her lover, the brave and generous warrior, who had risked his life to preserve her's, and had nobly restored her to her parent, was condemned to the stake, and her entreaties met only by contempt—the sex's softness yielded to the hero's rage. She had learned from the sports of the warriors to throw the tomahawk and to bend the bow. She now flew to the cabin of her father, dressed herself in the habiliments of a chieftain—took a bow and tomahawk, from the spoils her father had won in battle, and silently and swiftly took her course along the path by which she returned home with *Oatalissa*, to his tribe on the Lackawana.

Gathering there a band of warriors, she returned—placed them in a covert for the night, after having given the signal for the attack. The hour for *Oatalissa's* sacrifice at length arrived, and he was led out, undaunted to the stake. The fire

was lighted—the torments were prepared:—*Oatalissa* shrunk not, but raised high the song of defiance, and sung the noble deeds of his sires.—*Oronoco* suddenly gave the signal—she led the band—they rushed on the foe—the mountains trembled with the shout—*Karkaronka* fell—and rescued by the hand of *Oronoco*, *Oatalissa* seized his arms and decided the conflict. The morning found the field strewed with the warriors of both the tribes, like the oak and pine forest, stripped and torn by the northern tempest.

The death of *Karkaronka* disposed his tribe to peace; and both nations, weakened by a long and bloody conflict, readily listened to terms of accommodation.

The hatchet was buried—the wampum of peace was exchanged—the remnants of the warlike tribes united under the auspices of *Oatalissa* and *Oronoco*. Joy and festivity attended the celebration of the nuptials—long was the valley the seat of peace—and long did the tawny warrior pursue the game in safety on the hills; or fish unmolested in the clear waters of the Susquehanna.



“O DEAR, IT’S A SQUASH!”*



WHEN I was a boy, I confess I had some boyish tricks about me. But though mischievous, I never was very malicious in my sports. It did so happen, though, that I was once over-persuaded by one of my companions—to go down to the south lots in Applebury, to rob a water-melon patch. It was a miserly old fellow’s—who never gave away one, or, I believe, I should not have gone. Our intention was to take one a-piece, and we thought they never would be missed.

Well, we got safe into the garden—it was dark, and just as Jack whispered to me, “I’ve got one,” the dog barked,

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and away we flew with the prize. Over fences—through meadows and briars, we wound our way, to avoid detection. What fools! Jack spoiled his very best breeches, worth all the melons in the garden; and as for me, I lost one of my shoes in the flight, and broke my skin, into the bargain. I heartily wished the melon-patch fairly at Tophet.

We arrived however at our quarters with the prize. The peach that is hardest to be got at, has always the highest flavor, you know; so I had no doubt but the melon that had cost us so much trouble, must be of superior excellence. We got a candle:—dreadful disappointment! I never shall forget the woeful countenance of Jack, as he looked alternately at his breeches and his fruit, and exclaimed in the most piteous accents—“*O dear, it's a squash!!*”

I never was more fully convinced of the truth of the old adage, that “Honesty is the best policy.” We might have bought a dozen melons at half the expence of the shoe and breeches. Or with half the labor of stealing the *squash*, we might have earned as many melons as we would both have eaten. We had now nothing but,

“Our labors for our pains
And our losses for our gains.”

But this was not the worst of it. Our enterprise leaked out, and as ill luck would have it, a parcel of worthless rascals had gone after us, stole all the melons, and cut up the vines. Our having been to the garden pilfering, was found out, and all the cunning of *Ned Coke*, the lawyer, could not screen us. In fine, the fellows who did the mischief, got clear, and we had to pay the damage.

But the adventure made a lasting impression on my mind. And a thousand occurrences in life bring it to my recollection.

When I see mothers bringing up their daughters to look gay and dress fine, without instilling into their minds the principles of virtue;—when I see more pains taken to furnish the outside of the head with laces and combs, than the inside

with ideas, I cannot help thinking that some doting lover, will find to his sorrow, that instead of a melon "*He has got nothing but a squash!*"

Parents, listen to Old Robert. The education of your daughters is of the very first importance, not only as it regards their own happiness, but as it respects the character of our country. Your daughters are to be the mothers of the next generation. Among their offspring must our future Washingtons, and Clintons, and Jays, and Hamiltons be found. Can a race of heroes and statesmen; men of vigorous minds and strong constitutions, be produced from pale, weakly, senseless mothers?

Such were not the mothers of the Grecian heroes; of whom our parson used to tell us. Make your girls put on another petticoat—this will render them healthy. Make them rise early—the morning air will give them a rosy cheek. Never learn them music till they have learned to spin. Never teach them to make cake, till they can make bread. Never learn them to dance, till they have learned grammar. Never give them a silk gown till they can answer, readily, all the questions in geography. Direct their exercise and their studies so that their health may be preserved, and intellectual improvement keep pace with exterior accomplishment.

One thing more as to children. Mothers are apt to be too indulgent. Children are apt to cry for cakes and sweet-meats, and they have not the discretion to eat only what is sufficient. Now, depend on it, that stuffing your children with luxuries, injures their health and very greatly affects their mental perceptions. Don't starve your children, but feed them sparingly on light food, if you wish them to improve:—Give them their breakfast early, and make them exercise. A boy never will learn his lesson with a full belly. If you take a contrary course, depend on it, at eighteen years, you will find your son, instead of a melon, "*nothing but a squash.*"

*"It is better to go to the house of mourning
than to the house of feasting."**



"SO, so—from the motto I see," saith the reader, "Old Robert is mighty serious." Just so, I assure you, pretty Miss: and you would have been serious too, had you been with Old Robert the other evening.

It was one of the coldest nights of the season. The wind blew with remorseless violence:—Aunt *Eunice* was herself ill, and begged I would step up and see how the poor woman was. I entered the habitation. It was a poor shelter. The pale moon-beams played on the floor through the chinks, and the wind whistled through the broken windows. On the bed, pale and emaciated with a fever, lay the poor woman. In a cradle by the side of the bed, wrapped in a single rug, slept an infant, and in the corner, over a small fire, sat a little boy about five years old. There was no other being in the house: No friend to soothe her distress: No nurse to moisten her burning lips with a drop of water. Poverty has few allurements; sickness has none; and prudery and uncharitableness readily availed themselves of the frailties of the poor sufferer, to excuse their neglect.

I stepped out to procure a loaf of bread for the children: I was not long gone, and on returning to the door, the sound of a footprint on the floor told me somebody was within. O it was a pleasant sight! A young female friend, whose genius is not unknown to her literary acquaintance—whose virtues and amiable disposition, combined with a peculiar agreeableness of manners, render her beloved as extensively as she is known, had preferred to the gay scenes of mirth or the charms of a novel, *a lone and unostentatious visit to the house of poverty and the bed of sickness!* Like an

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angel of mercy, she was administering to the comfort of the poor woman and her infant.

I have seen the assemblies of the great. I have seen woman glowing with beauty—arrayed in the richest attractions of dress, whose charms were heightened by the “pride and pomp, and circumstance” of “elegant conviviality”. A lovely woman, in such a scene, irresistibly commands our admiration. But alone—at the bed of poverty and sickness—she appears more than human, I would not be impious, but she seems almost divine. What hath raised the lovely *M*—— above her companions? O religion! thou hast shed thy benign influence over her mind.—Religion! thou soothest our griefs; thou pluckest from the wounded mind the rooted sorrow; thou exaltest the soul in love to God, and to our fellow creatures! Would to Heaven thy influence was more prevalent over the human heart!

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“HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY.”*

◆◆◆

Be honest, and 'tis clear as light
You'll make by far most money by 't.
The profits that are got by cheating,
Are very few and very fleeting.
Experience proves the adage true;
Then never lose it from your view.

◆◆◆

WHEN I was a little fellow, just old enough to be mischievous, I was beset by a parcel of my companions, to go and pilfer the parson's pears. Down by the side of the brook that flows out of Applebury pond, back of the parson's house, was a beautiful meadow, in the midst of which stood the pear tree. It was large—hung full, and they were of a most delicious flavor.

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Whether I was afraid of a flogging—whether respect for the parson (for in those days children were brought up to respect the pious) prevented me; or whether I was deterred by the recollection of my bad luck in pilfering melons—I can't now remember; but I told them decidedly I would have nothing to do with the matter, and did all in my power to dissuade them from the enterprize.

I don't know how, but so it happened, that my honesty came to the parson's ears, and one Saturday afternoon I received an invitation to go and see him. Away I went, conscious that I had done no wrong;—how light beats the heart of innocence! The good man met me at the door:—“Robert,” said he, taking my hand, “I have heard that you refused to join in pilfering my pears.—Now I mean to convince you that “Honesty is the best policy.” Here,” added he, placing a large basket of the finest fruit before me, “eat what you please, and take as many with you as you can carry.”—I felt at that moment happier than Napoleon with empires at his feet. And the circumstance led me to remark, early in life, the consequence of an adherence to the maxim.

There was at Applebury a merchant, well esteemed for his probity:—“Where do you trade, neighbor?”—said one farmer to another. “Why, at Mr. *Upright's*,” replied the first. “His weights and measures always hold out. I had as lief send a child as a grown person, to his store, for the matter of his being treated well. I don't pretend to know the value of some sorts of goods, myself, but he has but one price, and never takes advantage of any one's ignorance.” I marked the consequence. *Upright* grew rich and respected; and fully experienced the truth of the maxim, that—*Honesty is the Best Policy*.

There too was lawyer *Aimwell*:—He never would flatter you about your cause, for the sake of your money—but would tell you plainly his opinion, even though he lost a fee by it.

Nor would he ever advocate a suit that he knew to be unjust. His established character drew business from every quarter, and he realized, in a fortune of five thousand pounds, and the esteem of his fellow men, the correctness of the maxim that—*Honesty is the Best Policy.*

But there was rich *George Ardenburg*, who had a large farm given him by his father. One of the merchants had advertised for tallow to send off for New-York. Rich *George* had killed a number of fat cattle, and as the tallow was to be sent away immediately, he thought it a good time to dispose of it. It was weighed:—Every body thought it was astonishingly heavy. *Dick Artly*, who attended the store, being somewhat suspicious, and a little roguish withal, in removing one of the cakes, as though by accident, let it fall plump on the floor:—it split open—and lo! in the middle was a large stone! Poor *George* looked like a sheep stealer.—He was hooted out of town. His match was broken off with the amiable Miss *Arabella Bromley*; he was turned out of the militia office he held, and finally was compelled to sell his farm and move off to Canada.

The blacksmith; the taylor;
The printer; the nailor;
The hatter; the joiner;
The potter; the miner;
The farmer; physician;
Merchant; politician;
The saddler, and sawyer;
The priest, and the lawyer;
The painter, and glazier!
The mason, and grazier,

Will find that my maxim, so trite and so old,
To those who adopt it, brings honor and gold.

"Though now so cheap, the thing I fear,
Will prove abominably dear."



THERE is a wonderful magic in the word *Cheap*. The news that a merchant will sell some articles very low, sets the whole neighborhood agog. No matter whether the thing is wanted, or not—it must be bought. And the worth of many a good plantation is squandered in the purchase of things, useless as the fifth wheel to a coach, merely because they are cheap.

My aunt *Eunice*, whose wisdom is of the best kind, for it is the wisdom of experience, used often to warn us of the folly of buying things, because they were cheap.—In her younger days it was her province to 'tend the dairy, and every fifth cheese was her own perquisite. She had got an hundred weight, and as *John Cartright* had attended her home two Sunday nights in succession, from singing-school, and absolutely had pressed her hand a little, as he bid her good night, she had no doubt but *John* intended to make love to her. Not knowing when he might pop the question, she resolved to be in some little state of preparation. So to market she went with her cheese, intending with the avails to lay in some little necessary articles against an emergency.

New-York from Applebury lies S. S.W. two days' journey when the roads are good. Aunt *Eunice* had never been to the city before, but had often heard of the amazing cheapness of things there. Her cheese yielded her in good silver money, two pounds ten shillings, to a farthing. Who so happy as she? Methinks I see her now, tripping along Broadway—her cheeks ruddier than a pearmain—her hair dressed in the fashion of those days, with a high commode, a little one side, looking so jaunty. Then her stays were laced unusually tight, showing a waist slender as the cream churn. Her stockings were of her own knitting, and whiter than

the lily; and her high-heeled shoes gave her an air of lightness and majesty. As memory rolls back the wheels of time, and opens to my ken the scenes of youth, *other objects, in mingled light and shade, rise to my view.* I see, all glowing with health and beauty, the smile of one, whose smile was life and love. The song that cheered my boyhood reverberates on memory's ear. But the form of beauty is lost in darkness, and her voice is hushed in the tomb. There too, beloved Aunt; and thou, Old Robert, must ere long mingle your dust with her's—and your hearts that still beat so cheerly, become still and cold as the clods of the valley. Ye who have loved * * * * *—but whither do I wander?

From shop to shop my Aunt roved.—A new thimble—bright as silver, cost but six-pence, and she bought it. Fans—ribbons—trinkets and gew-gaws, which her judgment did not approve, she still purchased because they came so very low. She was not aware how fast her money wasted. When a little tired of running, and satiated with novelties, she returned to her lodgings, and sat down to count her cash. How great was her disappointment, to find more than three-fourths of it squandered on things of no value! Poor girl! she could not purchase half the articles she had deemed indispensable! She would sometimes tell the story herself; but did not like very well to hear others tell it.—Being half in love, and having of course an itch for scribbling poetry, she wrote an essay on the subject from which my motto is extracted.

When I see men leaving their business, and running to a *vendue*, where there is not a single article to be sold, which they really want; but wasting their time, drinking and bidding, because things go cheap:—

When I see a young woman changing her tow-cloth for a parasol instead of a petticoat, or a six-dollar bonnet instead of a bed-tick—I would give a pinch of my best rapee, if some kind friend would whisper her,

Though now so cheap, the things, I fear,
Will in the end prove monstrous dear.

But of all *cheap* things that in the end prove *dear*, Razors and Schoolmasters are the most abominable. One will mangle your face—the other will mangle the education and morals of your children. In too many neighborhoods, the *price* and not the *qualifications*, of a master, is looked at. For the difference of three dollars a month, a man of sense and learning will be displaced to make way for a booby.

Listen to Old Robert. The future usefulness and destiny of your children, depend in a great measure, on their education and early habits. Their education and their morals depend greatly on their tutors. If the schoolmaster be illiterate and vicious, how can he impart knowledge and virtue to your children! A man of learning will not—cannot devote his time and talents for little or nothing. No man deserves a liberal support, better than a good schoolmaster.—When therefore a man offers to teach your children cheap, *suspect him*. A child will learn more in *one* quarter at a *good* than in *two* at a *poor* school. It is cheaper therefore in the end to give a good schoolmaster twenty-five dollars a month, than a poor one fifteen dollars, for you save half the time.



Pray take my advice, if a fortune you'd get,
Pay off what you owe, and then keep out of debt.*



THIS may be bad poetry, but depend on it, it is excellent sense. It is an old saying that “the debtor is a slave to the creditor.” If so, half the world enter into voluntary servitude. The universal rage to buy on credit, is a serious evil in our county. Many a valuable man is ruined by it.

There was *Titus Thornbury*, who was an industrious, honest man. He had as good a farm as lay in the north parish of Applebury. But unfortunately he gave way to the

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prevailing fashion of getting in debt; and a sad life he led of it. At the age of thirty, he owed two hundred pounds. His farm yielded about that sum. He could not live without purchasing some things, and as all the money he could raise, went to pay principal and interest on his debt, he had everything to buy on credit. So, at the year's end, with interest—and costs—and less of time—and extra prices charged for things, because he did not make ready pay, he was just as deeply involved as the year before. Thus harassed—dunned and tormented—was poor *Thornbury* for twenty years.

Not so was it with his cousin *Ned Forest*. He vowed he'd *owe no man*. The produce of his farm was about the same as that of *Thornbury's*; but as he was not forced by duns, or executions, to sell it out of season, he got the highest price:—As he paid for things when he bought them, he got his necessaries twelve per cent. cheaper:—As he paid neither interests nor costs, and lost no time in running to borrow money or to see his creditors—he laid up ninety pounds a year—lived quite as well as his cousin, and infinitely happier.

When poor *Thornbury* saw a man riding up the road, his anxious look told as plain as a look could tell—"plague on that fellow, he is coming to dun me." When a sudden rap at the door announced a visiter, no matter how lively he had been, he turned pale, and looked sorrowfully anxious until the visiter was known.

Many a man goes into the store for a single article. Looking around, twenty things strike his fancy: he has no money, but he buys on credit. Foolish man! Pay-day must come, and ten chances to one, like death, it finds you unprepared to meet it. Tell me, ye who have experienced it, did the pleasure of possessing the articles, bear any proportion to the pain of being called on to pay for them, when you had it not in your power?

Good people, hark ye: A few rules well observed, will contribute much to your happiness and independence. Never buy

what you do not really want. Never purchase on credit what you can possibly do without. Take pride in being able to say, *I owe no man*.—Wives are sometimes thoughtless:—Daughters now and then extravagant. Many a time, when neither the wife nor daughter, would willingly give a single pang to a fond father's bosom, they urge and tease him to get articles, pleasant enough, to be sure, to possess, but difficult for him to buy:—He purchases on credit—is dunned—sued, and many an hour made wretched by their folly and imprudence. Old Robert presents his compliments to the ladies, and begs they would have the goodness to read the last ten lines once a month till they get them by heart, and then act as their own excellent dispositions shall direct.

Above all things, good people, never go in debt at the tavern. To grog—to toddy—to sling—to bitters! Oh horrid! what a bill! Never owe your shoemaker—your taylor—your printer—your blacksmith, or laborer. Besides the bad policy of being in debt, it is downright injustice to those of whose labor you have received the benefit.

How happy's the farmer who owes not a pound,
But lays by his fifty each year that comes round.
He fears neither constable, sheriff nor dun;
To bank or the justice has never to run.
His cellar well fill'd and his pantry well stor'd,
He lives far more blest than a prince or a lord.
Then take my advice, if a fortune you'd get,
Pay off what you owe—and then keep out of debt.



“EASIER COAXED THAN DRIVEN.”*



WHEN I made my last visit to Applebury, I put off going to see my old friend, *Luke Thornbury*, and for the best reason in the world. *Luke* and his wife used to quarrel the

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live-long day, and it isn't very pleasant, you know, to visit where "I won't, my dear," and "I'll see the devil have you first, my love," make half the conversation. But *Luke* and I had always been on the best terms, and as for that matter, *Mrs. Thornbury* and I were never at variance.

So one fine afternoon; it was I think the twenty-fifth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and ten, just at half past three o'clock, that I rapped at the front door of the new house. And now while they are coming to open the door, I take time to tell you that every thing around it wore a rather guess appearance than when I was last at the farm. The garden fences were painted white—and the side walks ornamented with a row of handsome poplars. In the little yard, in front of the house, the rose and the snowball trees, scattering their leafy honors to the frosts of Autumn, indicated, from the neatness with which they were trimmed, that the mind of the mistress was enough at ease to attend to such interesting trifles. And the old house-dog came wagging his tail around me, telling me as plain as a dog could tell, "you are welcome." The nice observer need not be told that such things—"Walk in." My good old friend that moment met me. Instead of that lean—half-starved—hen-pecked looking fellow he seemed ten years ago—why sir, he was ruddy and as fat as a turtle-fed alderman. He gave me that sort of cordial reception, which told, rather by the eye and the pressure of the hand, than by words, than I was welcome. And *Mrs. Thornbury* too, seemed delighted to see me.

What an alteration! His wife was as happy a looking woman as I had seen in all Applebury. They both, I could perceive, remarked my surprise, at the perfect accordance of opinion and harmony of action in the house. After tea, the 'Squire invited me to walk and see his new flock of Merinoes.—While together, he took occasion to mention the matter. "You seem," said he smiling, "a little surprised at the

harmony which prevails between myself and *Mrs. Thornbury*. Family affairs I do not often make a subject of conversation, but as you were one of my earliest friends, and used to sympathise with me in the misery of having a cross partner, it is due to you to tell you the cause of the alteration." I told him I was much pleased to see the happy change, and could not but be interested to know the cause.

"When *Jane* and I married," said he, "I knew she possessed, with a good share of understanding, a high spirit. I was determined to be master at home, and I took high ground, resolved to enforce obedience whenever it should be refused, taking care at the same time to command nothing wherein I had not a right to be obeyed. If my wife interfered, or interposed her opinion, my pride took the alarm lest she should wear the breeches, and I would have things to suit myself. *Jane* grew cross and severe. I became morose and testy. For some time our life was miserable—my affairs began to get into disorder:—she neglected the things in the house, and I every thing out of doors. Things all tended to an open rupture, and we resolved at length to part. To part!—it was a dreadful thought. She was the mother of my children: she had good sense—knew how to be a good housewife—and I could not allege any greater offense against her, than she would not submit to my government. Many a time in our quarrels she used to tell me, "easier coaxed than driven." The thought struck me that before we finally separated, *I would alter my plan of management. I became the best natured and politest husband in the world.*—What a metamorphose. *Jenny*, said he, and the tear stood in his eye, *Jenny* became the best natured and most complying wife in Applebury. I took her advice in every matter—she always advised just as I wished.—If I got a nice peach from home, I always saved it for her. She requited my attention with fourfold kindness. Was she ill, I was unremitting in my attentions. If I was sick, no angel could be kinder. In fine,

said my friend, I became in truth a good husband—and that is the secret, that wrought such a change in my wife; and I do verily believe if other husbands would only remember that a woman is "*easier coaxed than driven*," there would be infinitely more happiness in the married state.



FAMILY GOVERNMENT.*

If your children you'd command,
Parents, keep a steady hand.



OUR parson used to say, "just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined," and therefore every little fellow of us, rag-tag and bob-tail, used to be obliged to say our catechism every Saturday afternoon. And methinks I can trace the influence of the serious lessons, in the conduct and opinions of every man who was brought up under the venerable pastor. The government as well as the education of children, is a matter of the most momentous concern. Mrs. *Hasty* is as good a dispositioned woman as you will find in an hundred, but she don't "keep a steady hand" with her children. *Tommy*, said she, let that clock-case alone. *Tommy* turned round, whistled for half a minute, and went to work at the clock again. *Tommy*, said she angrily, if you don't let that clock alone I certainly will whip you. I never did see such a boy, said the mother, he don't mind a word I say. She continued her knitting, while *Tom* continued at the clock-case, till over it tumbled and dashed the clock and case to pieces.—The mother up with the tongs and knocked poor *Tom* sprawling among the ruins. *Tom* roared like a Bedlamite, and the kind woman took him up in her lap—was sorry she had hurt him, but then he should learn to mind his mother; and giving him

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a piece of cake to stop his crying, picked up the ruins of the clock. What was the consequence?—Why, *Tom*, who with “a steady hand” to govern him, would have become a man of worth—turned out a hasty, ill-natured villain.

My neighbor *Softly*, good woman, don’t whip her poor dear little children, however improperly they may conduct; for they cry so loud and so long she is afraid they will go into fits. Yet she keeps a rod hanging up over the mantle-piece, threatening them every hour in the day.

Old Captain *Testy* swore his children should be well governed. So he laid by a good hickory, and for every trifling offence, thrashed his children till they were beaten into hardihood and shamelessness. When they appeared on the theatre of life, they were only fit for robbery and the whipping post.

How different was the government of my old friend *Aimwell* and his wife. If one corrected a child—the other never interfered. When the first ray of knowledge began to dawn in their infant minds, they commenced a steady course of proceeding.

They never directed what was improper to be done—if a child misunderstood, they pardoned him—but so long as he resisted through *temper* they continued to punish until the temper yielded. A second whipping was rarely necessary. A steady hand—a mild but firm manner of issuing their commands, were always sure to produce obedience. It was an invariable rule with them, when they were in a passion, never to punish their children. Never to promise the most minute thing to them without performing. And yet their children loved them most tenderly—wanton and played their little gambols around them with the utmost freedom. But at any time a look would awe them into silence, and a word was sure to be followed by the strictest obedience. If it was convenient, they came to the table; if not—without a murmur they waited. They grew up patterns of filial obedience and affection, and added to society the most correct, useful and respectable members.

Listen to Old Robert: Never strike a child while you are in anger. Never interfere with your husband or wife in the correction of a child in its presence. The parents must be united, or there is an end to government. Never make light promises to children, of rewards or punishments; but scrupulously fulfill what you do promise.—Begin early with your children. Break their temper if it is high, while young; it may cost you and them a pang, but it still will save you both fifty afterwards; and then be steady in your government. Use the rod sparingly—it is better and easier to command from their love and respect, than their fear. Keep these rules, and my word for it, your children will be a happiness to you while young, and an honor to you when they grow up.

Be sure ne'er promise yea or no,
Without the power and will to do:
Then always make that promise true.*

EDWARD EASY had a cousin *Tom*.—Those who removed from the neighborhood of the Buries, in the midst of which Applebury lies, must all have known *Tom Easy*. He was one of the most accommodating fellows in the world. He would disoblige himself at any time to oblige a neighbor.—Many a time have I known him to lend his horse, and then trudge to training two miles on foot. He could never refuse any thing that was asked of him, for it was more painful to refuse a favor than to give up a convenience. Though this accommodating disposition, when kept within due bounds, is commendable, yet when carried to an extreme it degenerates into a vice. *Tom* carried it too far. He became too accommodating. Ask him for what you pleased, he could never refuse you. And at length by promising so many things

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which he could not perform, he fell into the disgraceful habit of disregarding his promises, both in matters of business as well as amusement.—Will you attend the ball tonight, *Tom*? O yes, I'll be sure to be there; you may certainly count upon me. And yet, ten to one, some friend would take him by the sleeve and lead him off to play chequers all the evening. *Tom*, will you attend the business relating to the Parsonage-lands to-morrow? O yes, precisely at ten. And yet more than probable the next day at ten would find him writing poetry, disputing politics, or making a quail-trap. He would promise money with the same good will to pay, and yet from sheer carelessness never provide the means of meeting his engagements:—But no one paid his debts more cheerfully when in his power. He would set a day to settle with a neighbor, but when the man had come three miles with his books, *Tom* would have rode out on a party of pleasure.

This want of punctuality in fulfilling promises so speciously made, and relied on, not unfrequently injured him in the estimation of many, whose good opinion he would not willingly have forfeited; and produced inconveniences to those whom he would much more gladly have served. The consequences need not be traced. No man with two grains of understanding, and one of experience, but will perceive at a glance, that although *Tom* was possessed of many good qualities, the exercise of this habitual negligence of performance must lead to ruin, in credit, reputation and fortune. *Tom* at length saw it too, and putting his foot down, just on the edge of the precipice whither his indiscretion had led him, made a vow of reformation. And the consequences were almost miraculous. Though still obliging, and ready to say *yes* on all proper occasions—yet he never would promise without the *will*, the *ability* and the firm *resolution* to perform. His credit was restored and it became a pleasure to do business with him. His punctuality to his engagements now raised him as rapidly in public estimation as the contrary course of conduct had sunk him.

As *Tom's* fault seems to be very prevalent at the present time, I thought the consequences produced by the disease, and the cure in his case, might peradventure be useful to others.

Take the advice of Old Robert. Never promise through a foolish good-natured wish to please for the moment—for it is falsehood. Keep your promises sacred, even in the minutest particular, for therein is honor. No man can maintain an unsullied reputation, and disregard even trifling promises.



SEDUCTION.*



IT was one of those pleasant mornings in the month of May, when nature, released from the chains of winter, seems animated with a sense of returning life and freedom. The merry blue-bird caroled her liveliest lay. The bee, warmed to activity by the genial ray, left the hive; and the early daffodil opened its yellow bosom to her welcome. The meadows, clad in green, and decorated with flowers, seemed to smile with joy; and the little brook that wandered through the valley, murmured sweet music to the shepherd's ear. It was such a morning when I last visited Franksburgh. My heart swelled with gratitude to God and love to my fellow man. Just as I alighted at old Capt. *Freeman's*, two gentlemen in a chaise drove to the door of the only inn of the village. They seemed strangers—easy in their deportment, well-dressed, but very different in their manners and appearance. The eldest seemed about twenty-three; tall, graceful and prepossessing; his eye was uncommonly ardent, and on his brow sat something like care. His companion seemed a lad of about fourteen, handsome, delicate, and apparently

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ill. They immediately called for a room, in which they remained until their arrival was known to every man, woman and child in the whole village.

There are few places, you know, at once so pleasant, and so retired as Franksburgh. Pleased with its situation, the strangers concluded to make it the place of their residence, at least for a season, as they hoped it would prove beneficial to the health of *Edwin*.—The strangers, for such was the appellation by which they were designated through Franksburgh, soon became the theme of general discourse. Curiosity was on tip-toe to know who they were, whence they came, and what was their business. The girls all thought the eldest the handsomest man they had ever seen. The lads, either from dislike, arising from jealousy of *William*, (for that was his name) because he was the favorite of their sweethearts, or because there was indeed a winning softness—an attractive sweetness in *Edwin*, all preferred the latter. But the strangers, although courteous to all, appeared to shun, rather than court society; and a lonely walk to the deep groves by the mountain, seemed their principal delight. But it was strange—nobody had ever learned the second name of either of the young gentlemen.—And the washerwoman had observed that their clothes were marked with other letters than those commencing their first names.—*William* often walked his chamber as though agitated. *Edwin* was frequently seen to sigh and weep. Every body loved him, and seemed deeply interested in the recovery of his health; but he grew paler and paler every day, and his mild blue eye, smiling with affected serenity through an obtrusive tear, excited in every bosom the most tender sensibility.

But why conceal their names?—Whence the agitation of *William*?—What caused the sighs and tears of *Edwin*? These were questions in the mouths of every one, and although the distress of both might be accounted for by the

illness of the latter, yet sickness could be no reason for the studied caution in the concealment of their names.

Week after week passed away, and it was remarked that *Edwin's* illness confined him more and more, while *William*, assuming a more cheerful air, associated more with the villagers, and many thought from his frequent visits to the Parson's, that the blooming *Mira* had made some impression on his heart. *Mira* was the youngest daughter of the worthy and venerable Clergyman. With a mind cultivated, delicate and refined—a form and features of exquisite harmony, and a heart the seat of every virtue; she had, even in the cities, few equals, and no superiors. The attentions of *William* became every day more particular, and it was remarked that the illness of his unfortunate companion proportionably increased. It could not be concealed, that to *Mira*, the conversation of *William* was agreeable. His manners were engaging—his mind well stored with learning—the most approved writers were familiar to his recollection—he quoted the best poets with grace and ease, and his skill in music and painting gave him a very sensible advantage over the young men with whom *Mira* was in the habit of associating in Franksburgh. What female heart, so situated, could withstand such attractions?—Yet the good and sensible Mr. *Pleasants*, while he saw in *William* such a man, as, if his character should prove fair, and his connexions suitable, he should be pleased to see united with his daughter; could not but remark the extreme impropriety of her forming an attachment for a man, whose situation in life, and even whose real name she did not know. *Mira* received the caution of her father with a sigh that plainly told him her heart was too much interested in behalf of the stranger. Indeed *William* himself had adverted to the singularity of his situation in Franksburgh—intimated that his views were honorable—that he could explain some things that might appear mysterious, and hoped that hearts made to be happy in each

other's love, might not be separated by the austerity of the old and unfeeling. The fire of *William's* eye, the ardor of his manner, the doubtful tendency of his expressions, and the attempt to press the hand of *Mira* to his bosom, alarmed her delicacy. She resented his forwardness with a look that awed him into respect, and while he vowed the tenderest affection, he hoped she would pardon any fault that his too great love for her might have betrayed him into.

What portion of the young ladies of Franksburgh, would have chided, and forgiven him such language, I pretend not to know. Too many I fear would have been at least silent, and have depended on their own discretion to repel any further illicit advances. Duty clearly suggested a different course.—*Mira* had no mother. Death had robbed the world of its fairest ornament, and left *Mira* to the counsels of her father. To him she unfolded her whole heart—she confessed the visits of *William* had been pleasant, but she also related every circumstance of their last interview. Such was the course prescribed by discretion and virtue. *While a child makes a confident of a parent, there is no danger of her falling a prey to the allurements of vice, or the wiles of villainy.* The complexion of *William's* views was now apparent, and Mr. *Pleasants* seated himself at his desk to write a letter to him, prohibiting him his house, when a little boy brought in a billet to *Mira*. The seal was wet. The boy had gone in an instant. It was observed that he had entered the room with little ceremony—was wrapped up closely so as not to be distinguished, and had departed without uttering a syllable. *Mira* opened the letter with a trembling hand, supposing it from *William*. What was her surprize to find the following lines—

"The serpent charms but to destroy,
"Beware the fate of the stranger boy."

From whom or whence it came, she could not conjecture. She handed it to her father, whose opinion coincided with

her's, that the "serpent" alluded to, could be no other than *William*; but the last line was puzzling and unintelligible.

A sad night passed away, and ushered in an eventful morning. The letter from Mr. *Pleasants* to *William* was delivered at an early hour. *William* had seemed fretful—unsettled, and peevish all the preceding evening. He was observed to pace his room, with unusual agitation; his voice was occasionally raised to a tone harsh and severe, and it was thought that the sick *Edwin* was heard to moan and sob. This harshness, and the circumstance, that during the illness of the interesting youth, no physician had been consulted, gave rise to opinions very unfavorable to the humanity of the elder; yet he had never appeared either mean or ungenerous. His purse was always open to relieve the poor who asked his bounty, and he paid liberally for every thing he purchased. Soon after the delivery of the letter from Mr. *Pleasants*, *William* descended the stairs in considerable agitation—ordered his bill and trunk in great haste—told the landlord he should be absent a day or two—took his leave, and hastily drove from the door. As the carriage wheels rattled over the stones, the feet of *Edwin* were heard to step slowly to the window; he gave a convulsive scream, and fell lifeless on the floor. The family ran immediately to his room. Mr. *Pleasants*, who was near at hand, ran to his assistance. He was laid on the bed—some water brought. He appeared lifeless—and surely death never stole so sweet a victim. They opened his vest and handkerchief to give him air, when what was their astonishment to behold a female bosom, white as snow!—and to a golden chain around her neck was suspended the miniature of the very *William* who had at that moment so hastily departed.

The cause of her illness was no longer a secret. She revived but to faint again, and again, until nature, wearied with the torture produced by the agitation of her spirits, sunk into sleep, disturbed and interrupted by moans; but

yet not destitute of refreshing influence. The best medical aid the village afforded, was brought to her relief, and in two days more she was removed, by the invitation of the good Clergyman, to his house. The austere censured him as the encourager of vice. The lewd and unprincipled hinted, that perhaps she might recover, and that the age of the Parson had not yet chilled the fever of his blood. Benevolent himself, he neither heeded the censures of the one, nor the sneers of the other. His income was small, but what he had was never withheld from the indigent and afflicted. He prayed for all—he visited the sick—he comforted the mourner—he relieved the distressed.

Ellen, for that was the real name of the poor girl, after a week of severe illness, began to recover her strength; but her spirits were low—a gloom rested on her countenance—she never smiled, and though she wept little when any one was near, yet a tear often stole down her cheek; but when alone she gave vent to her sorrows in a flood of tears. The time now approached at which she expected to become a mother!—To *Mira* she disclosed all that she intended should be known. “She did not expect,” she said, to survive her expected trial—she had no wish to live; and yet for the sake of *William’s* child, she could not wish it to expire with her.” Her parents were wealthy, and were considered as respectable; but where they resided, or what their name, she constantly declined to mention. Her fault had been great, but *William’s* perfidy had been her ruin. She was innocent, until under the guise of affection, he had won her poor heart, and robbed her of her honor. “I would not complain,” said she, “of my parents. They loved me tenderly, and my father would avenge my wrongs with the life of my seducer. I hope he may never know my fate. But both he and my mother were inattentive to storing my mind with the precepts of religion: they took me to church, it is true, but rather as a ceremony or parade, than for instruction; and when the

Sabbath was gone, religion was not again remembered, until another Sabbath brought it to recollection." But her repentance seemed sincere. The fearful hour at length arrived. There was scarcely a person in the village, that did not, with an anxious, enquiring look, express a solicitude to know the issue. The morning came, and the church-bell in solemn tone announced what poor *Ellen* had predicted, and what all had feared. The day of the funeral was fixed—the mother and the infant daughter were both to be interred in one grave.

It was the fall of the year—the sun looked pale—the sear leaf fell silently around—and the sound of the deep-toned bell vibrated with unusual sadness on the ear. The funeral was numerously attended, and melancholy marked every countenance. By the desire of *Ellen*, she was interred by the side of the rock in the burying-ground, beneath the sweet-briar that blossoms there. The slow and sad procession had arrived at the grave—the coffin was gently let down into its recess—when the awful stillness was suddenly disturbed, by a stranger, who rushed through the crowd! His eye was wild and glaring—his head was bare— his hair flew wildly to the breeze—he stood by the grave with a look of unutterable anguish. After a minute's pause, the people began to cover the grave. Awakening from his reverie, and throwing himself upon the coffin, he exclaimed—"O! *Ellen*—poor murdered *Ellen*!" With great exertion he was forced from the spot, and the last sad rites were paid to the dead. *William* returned, raving sometimes incoherently—sometimes writhing under the pangs of a guilty conscience, he attempted to destroy himself; again he wept for the wrongs and murder of poor *Ellen*! Nearly a year passed in the madness of uncontrolled delirium, till at length nature gave way, and a copious issue of blood from his lungs marked at once the force of his malady, and the certainty of his approaching dissolution. But the hemoptysis reduced him to reason.

Weak and melancholy, he would linger at the grave of the poor girl he had seduced—call on her spirit to forgive him, or weep until night-fall, when his friends (for his repentant and miserable situation had raised him friends) forced him from the spot. He raised with his own hands a smooth stone for her monument, and caused to be inscribed upon it—

“When lovely woman stoops to folly,
And finds too late that men betray;
What art can soothe her melancholy,
What charm can wash her guilt away?

“The only way her guilt to cover,
To hide her grief from every eye;
To bring repentance to her lover,
And wring his bosom, is—TO DIE!”

A few months closed the scene, and at his decease he was buried by the side of *Ellen*.

The miniatures of *Ellen* and *William* may yet be seen at the good Clergyman’s. Framed neatly, and hung beneath the pictures, are the following lines in the handwriting of *William*, and found among his papers,—

“*Ellen* was young, and beautiful and innocent. I courted her, and she requited my love by the tenderest affection. I took the advantage of an unguarded hour, and robbed her of her virtue. From that moment she was wretched, and I was miserable.—In pleasure, in business, in new scenes of wickedness, I strove to drown the voice of conscience. Poor *Ellen* died—I shall soon die too. May God forgive me. Young men and maidens, from *William* and *Ellen’s* fate learn, that the moment you abandon the ways of virtue, you leave the high road of happiness. ‘The paths of pleasure lead but to the grave.’”

WILLIAM THORNTON.”

"HUZZA FOR A NEW PILOT TO THE SHIP."*



I NEVER could tell for the soul of me, under what planet I was born; but I was always fond of roving. At the age of eighteen, that delicate and dangerous period of youth, when the girls feel queer, and the lads feel restless, I took it into my head that I would go a voyage to sea. I learnt that a vessel was fitting out at New-York, on a trading voyage to the south sea, and I must needs get a birth in her. Our company was made up of five old ships'-captains, who were good pilots, and chief owners; and all the crew had ventures aboard. So it was agreed that every three months, the crew should choose who should be master, and the master should appoint all the inferior officers.

The winds blew fair—the ship was ready—we kissed our sweethearts, and the gale soon wafted us so far, that the high hills of Applebury were entirely lost, and the distant land sunk to a little cloud in the horizon.

For many a league old ocean looked like a sheep-pasture: the white sails were so thick, and bounded so merily over the waves. For you must know we sailed in the good old times before Embargoes, and Non-Intercourses—and other such terrible *goes* and *courses* had come in fashion.

Our first Captain did right well, but not caring to take charge of the ship longer, we chose another. The first one, God rest his soul, soon died, and never a common sailor on board, but cried like a baby. The second was tolerable, but scolded a little too much, and was rather proud. So, when his time was out we let him rest, and all set too, and made Tom Longsplice commander. Out upon't, but I get out of temper when I think what a lubber he was. He talked like the sweetest and sensibilest gentleman in the world, but

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nothing he undertook prospered. After two turns at commanding he resigned, and every body was glad of it. So the next one we put in was Jemmy Cringer, clerk to old Longsplice, and one of his own kidney.

Well-a-day for the poor sailors. He run us into shoals and among rocks—got us on a lee shore—made all the people we were trading with, mad as March-hares, and squandered more of the ship's funds than a little. We didn't like it much, and at the time of choosing a new commander, we determined to oust him.

Now, would you think it, he had the impudence to ask to be chosen again, and the cabin-boy, and the boatswain, and the steward, and all the officers who depended on the appointment of the captain, urged it on the sailors to choose him again. We thought for a while, the officers made such a racket, that to be sure three-fourths of the crew were for it, but pretty soon discovered, that though loud, the voices in his favor were not numerous. Just at the critical moment, up got Jack Clewline, as good a sailor as ever took a quid, and thus addressed the crew—

"Avast, mess-mates—

"D'yee see we're in difficulty. Under Captain Cringer the ship has been running upon rocks and shoals half the time—we are in open arms with the natives we want to trade with, and all the voyage seems going to the d—l. Now our Captain may be a clever fellow, but he has a cursed droll way of showing it. We've as good seamen as ever steered a trick. We may get a better—we can't get a worse. My notion is we'd better change masters; so huzza for a *new pilot to the ship*—here's a health to the gallant Bowline, says I."

The crew, all but the steward, and the cabin-boy, and all the other officers, answered with three hearty cheers—"Huzza for a *new pilot to the ship*—here's success to Captain Bowline."

The new Captain took the command, and d'ye see things went rather guess. We got out of the shoals and rocks—made peace with the natives, and the rest of the voyage was as smooth and prosperous as heart could wish. We got safe home again to New York, our pockets lined with the rhino, and our hearts bounding like sturgeons—and every sailor blessed the day that we got "*a new pilot to the ship*," and gave the command to the gallant Bowline.

When I see a farmer, letting his land to a tenant who commits waste on the freehold—quarrels with the neighbors—neglects to repair the fences, and takes little pains to save the flocks from the ravages of the wolves, "Thinks-I-to-myself," if there's another tenant to be had, I'd turn out the incumbent. You may get a better. Your farm can't be managed worse. Huzza for a "*new pilot to the ship*"—remember the gallant Bowline.

When I see a sick man following the prescriptions of a physician, every dose of whose physic makes him worse and worse. What a fool, thinks I, when there are so many physicians to be had, to employ the one who has brought you so near to the grave. You may recover by a change—you must die by persisting in your course. Huzza for "*a new pilot to the ship*"—remember the gallant Bowline.

When I see the affairs of a great nation grossly mismanaged; the people divided and unhappy—commerce in ruins—taxes increasing—large debts contracting, and quarrels with every nation; reflect, good people, thinks I, your rulers must want capacity or virtue. Things can't be managed worse. Change your rulers, and they may be managed better. Though the stewards, and the clerks, and the cabin-boys, who are interested in keeping in your present men, may bawl loud to deceive you—rouse up, join, one and all, and huzza for "*a new pilot to the ship*"—remember the gallant Bowline.

MONITORY.*



OF all the stages of life, that of youth, that blest period when the passions allure to pleasure—when every object is painted to the imagination in the vivid tints of joy, before reason has so far assumed her empire as to convince us that the pleasures which court our pursuit are momentary or illusive, or experience has stamped the mortifying conviction that a thorn lurks with its poisonous dart beneath each flower—that is the happy period designated by all as the most delightful of life. The blood flows rapid and warm through the heart. Every lad, to the softer sex, is an *Adonis*.—Every pretty girl appears to the youths, a *Helen*, or a *Venus*.

But even that period is not free from troubles. Every cup of pleasure is dashed with a portion of alloy. *Nannette* sighs, because *Amelia* has a blacker eye or a finer dimple. *Olivia*, although her shape is most beautiful, pines in secret because the face of *Ardelia* is thought handsomer. And even the sensible—the amiable—the accomplished *Charlotte*, cannot conceal her chagrin because *Mary* has a smaller foot, and a finer turned ankle. “Ah! what a piece of work is” woman! Still, dear, forward, unaccountable creatures, *I like ye*. I delight in all your joys—I sympathise in all your sorrows.—Permit then, an old fellow to tell you frankly, that you are not so perfect but that attention to a little good advice may improve you.

Never swear.—Profane language from your lovely lips seems thrice impious. I am sorry that posterity, who will read my writings a hundred generations hence, should know the fact. The fault is not mine.

Never read a book in private which you would blush to have your father find you perusing.

*Published in the *Gleaner* for Nov. 20, 1812.

Check the first approaches of licentious conduct or discourse; and awe, by the irresistible influence of female virtue, the man into silence, who dares profane your ear with a double *entendre*, or an indelicate allusion.

If a man of worth, but diffident, be in company, pay not all your attention to the forward coxcomb, although he may obtrude himself upon you, but complacently smile and encourage the confidence of the modest and unassuming.

Read your bibles, girls—read your bibles. If at first as a duty it will soon become a pleasure. Men of sense will love you better—and even the immoral* will respect you the more.

If a young man visits you, evening after evening—plaguing and pestering you with his company, and gives you no opportunity to tell him his visits are not acceptable—I'm sure you all wonder how you are to relieve yourselves from so unpleasant a dilemma. I confess, girls, I hardly know.—I have it.—Ask them if they have read the last number of *Old Robert*; if not, hand them the Gleaner, and ten to one but they will take the hint.

INN-KEEPING.**

Keep your bedsteads free from bugs:
Air your sheets and clean your rugs:
Let your cookery be neat:
Set the table quite complete:
Bid the boy the boots to clean,
Then the stranger'll call again.

ON my last journey to Applebury I kept a memorandum of whatever happened on the road worthy of observation. Many sage and notable remarks and adventures, I leave for

*Newspaper version:—knave and fool.

**Published in *The Gleaner* for Apr. 16, 1813. No title in newspaper.

the publisher of my posthumous works to arrange and give to the world. I now labor, not for fame or fortune, but for the comfort of my fellow-men, who are obliged to travel. And now, all ye tavern-keepers, who live between Franksburgh and Applebury, whether in cities, villages, or in the country, I pray you read this; and if you are not downright numskulls, you cannot fail to derive some advantage from the perusal.

Well, as I was telling you, I started for Applebury on old Dobbin.* The season was fine and the way pleasant. Just at dusk on the third day of my journey, half dead with hunger and fatigue, I stopt at a large and good-looking tavern in *Slopewell*, at the sign of the Bear and Fiddler, ordered my horse out and called for supper. Alas, poor Robert, thought I, looking around the large and dirty bar-room—this promises but poor accommodations. I would have proceeded further, but I was absolutely too much jaded to think of moving a step. The table was spread, with a dirty cloth, and half a dozen children, bedaubed from ear to ear with candy and dirt, hung around it, pulling at the bread and hauling the dishes out of place. The good hostess (I never shall forget her ladyship) presently entered with a plate of sausages, her hair** loose and flying, occasionally swept in charming negligence through the gravy. I must however do her the justice to say that she scolded the children in a voice like Van Corlaer's trumpet, for their forwardness.

I could easier bear the misconduct of the children than the din of the mother, and in kind accents "asked the sweet

In newspaper, is additional, as follows—

*He could not rack and amble like the learned ponies of the present day; but a right old fashioned Narraganset pacer; a sure foot and good spirits, together with great gentleness, rendered thee old Dobbin, as far superior to them as our fathers were superior to their degenerate sons.

In newspaper;—

**Like the quills upon the fretful Porcupine, erect and loose.

little girls to come and speak to me." Next to flattering a woman's self, you can't please her better than to flatter her children. The tone of the good woman instantly changed. "*Dolly my dear,*" cried she, "run and buss the man." *Dolly* ran to give me the buss. It would have *posed* a stronger stomach than mine. I had not time to consider, so taking up the young one, I turned away from the mother, and scowled my face as grimly as hunger, fatigue and anger could help me to do; the young one started, scratched, scabbled and squealed like a pig in a gate, and by this lucky expedient I escaped the contact of its chops.

Supper over, I retired to bed—but not to rest. The most loathsome and detestable of all plagues to the weary traveller, came out from their hiding-places, like swarms of hungry Visigoths on sleeping Rome, as our parson would say; and as many hours in purgatory would not have been more wretched. Welcome morning at length dawned. I dragged on my dirty boots—paid my bill—mounted old Dobbin, and may I never see Applebury again, if I stop a second time at the Bear and Fiddler.

The next night I arrived at that most delightful of all villages. How changed the scene! My landlady was as neat as a baby's drawer—the coffee was clear as amber—the butter sweet as a rose—the table things as neat as wax-work—the knives as bright as silver—and the table-cloth as white as a lily. It would have done your heart good to see how snug every thing looked. Every good thing was in plenty, and yet nothing wasted. Things were provided in that happy mean, between closeness and profusion, that every reasonable person would be pleased with.—And then the beds, why Mrs. *Hardcastle* would no more think of putting a decent looking stranger into sheets that had been before slept in, than to turn them out of doors. O! it was a comfort to put up with them. No one who ever had tarried with them

failed to call again; so they got all the good custom and grew rich by it.

Now tavern-keepers, listen to old Robert. If your wives are sluttish, or incorrigibly bad in their cookery, throw up your licenses. It is impossible for you with such a woman, to keep respectable public houses.

Furnish your pantry well. In winter you are inexcusable if you have not fat fowls always dressed and ready to be cooked at a minute's warning.

Never be out of eggs.

Keep at least a small quantity of the first quality of liquors. A traveller who is a judge will not value paying you well for it, and it will bring credit to your house.

*If your wife does not know how to make a good cup of coffee, and there is, I assure you, no inconsiderable knack in it, let her learn of some one who does understand it.

Keep the children away from the table.

Broil your fowls or steaks, and boil your eggs instead of frying them; unless particular directions are given. It is generally best to enquire of the traveller what mode of cookery he would prefer.

Keep your bedsteads free from vermin; it is inexcusable and detestable to put a person in bed to be devoured. Be sure that the sheets are clean and well aired; if six cents is not enough to pay for lodging, charge twelve, or four times that sum. No gentleman would hesitate to pay the value of a clean bed.

Let the boots or shoes of the traveller always be cleaned.

On no account let the horse be neglected—when first put up, let clean straw be thrown around him—rub him down,

In newspaper, additional,—

*Let your table be spread neat.

and when cool give him water and afterwards his grain. It is a practice too common to feed travellers' horses where the hogs and fowls will rob them of half that is given them; this is both mean and dishonest.

If your lodger is disposed to converse, talk with him. If he chooses to be alone, it is ill manners to crowd yourself into his company.

Now bid your eldest son to copy the latter part of this number, and paste it over the fire-place; obey the directions, and my word for it, you will get more and better customers, and have the pleasure of being universally commended.



Kind words may reconcile a foe,*
But cross ones never will, I trow;
A sarcasm or a cutting joke,
Hath many a bond of friendship broke;
But never yet a friend hath made,
Since Eve repos'd in Eden's shade.
Then never joke a man or quiz him,
For ten to one you'll much displease him.



ENSIGN *Oliver Caustic*, was a man noted through all Applebury, for his jokes and sarcasms; many of which were much more remarkable for their severity than their wit. He used often to say—"Never spoil a joke for relation's sake"—and indeed he let no opportunity slip to say what he considered a smart thing, or to tell an applicable story. One morning, having been down to my *Uncle Aaron's* to get his shoe mended, I returned up street with him; and long shall I remember the tartness with which he accosted every one he saw. Meeting *Edward Easy*, who had been down to the pond for ducks, and fortunately had got a fine brace—"Well

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done, *Ned*," said he, "quite successful this morning—*A fool for luck*," they say. "A fool," muttered *Edward*, coloring, and passed on.

The next man we met was Captain *Hawthorn*, who told us on enquiry, that he had been up to ask the Squire's advice about buying the Oak-tree lot; for said he, neighbor *Caustic*, "*two heads are better than one*." "Aye, aye," cried *Caustic*, "though they are *Sheep-heads*." "*Sheep-heads*," grumbled *Hawthorn*, and turned away abruptly.

Coming by Major *Speedwell's*, a fine horse that had just broke his leg, lay at his door. Now the Major was a pretty clever fellow, but jockied it a little now and then; but that is so common as not to be much minded. "Heigh! Heigh!" said *Caustic*, "bad luck, ha! Well, *what comes over the devil's back will go under his belly*, you know. "Devil's belly," said *Speedwell*, and on we went.

We pretty soon came to where Sergeant *Peter Furrow* was planting potatoes in hills. "Why don't you plant them in rows?" asked Ensign *Oliver*, they'll yield a third more and be vastly easier tended."—"Oh," says *Peter*, "I know how to raise potatoes." "Aye, aye," cried *Oliver*, "*A fool is wiser in his own conceit than seven men who can render a reason*;" "Humph!" cried the Sergeant, and we marched on.

Passing Mr. *Bakewell's*, who should come to the door but her ladyship, with a churn as white as milk. "Good morning, Mrs. *Bakewell*," said the Ensign, "you've been churning this morning, I suppose.—"Yes Sir," replied she. "Well," added the Ensign, "every body praises your butter as the best in the whole town." "I am glad it is thought well of," said she. "I could not help thinking," added the Ensign, "of the old saying—*Scolds and sluts make the best butter!* but no offence I hope."—Mrs. *Bakewell* reddened with mortification and anger.—Indeed there wasn't one in the whole

neighborhood but what felt somehow uneasy whilst Mr. *Caustic* was in company.

It was not long after that I was down town in very muddy weather, and Ensign *Oliver*, in driving home a load of hay, upset his cart in a mud-hole, and the off steer choaked to death before he could get him loose. In great need of help, who should come along but *Edward Easy*. "So, so," said Ned, tauntingly, "*A fool for luck, Ensign!*" and on he went.

By and by, up came Captain *Hawthorn*, "Neighbor *Hawthorn*," said *Caustic*, in a most piteous tone, "I beg of you to help me contrive to get out of this terrible mud-hole." "So then, Ensign," said he jeeringly, "you seem to think *two heads are better than one, if they are sheep-heads*," and passed on.

Presently Maj. *Speedwell* came prancing by on his fine pacing filly, *Brunette*. "Well neighbor *Oliver*," said he, as he spattered by, "your saying I see is verified—*what comes over the devil's back goes under his belly*." The Ensign bit his lips.

As luck wuld have it, the next that came by was *Peter Furrow*. "How is this Ensign," said he, "why didn't you go round by the parson's, it isn't half so muddy and only twenty rods further." "I thought," replied *Oliver*. "You know what thought did," interrupted *Furrow*—"A fool is wiser in his own conceit than seven men who can render a reason." And on he passed.

These men never forgot, even if they forgave, poor *Caustic*, to the day of their death.

How different was it with Squire *Ainwell*. He never made use of an expression that could mortify any one. He would not wound the feelings of a child. Every body liked to see him come, for he had the true art of pleasing, by making every body pleased with themselves. Was any one

in trouble, he had a kind expression of sympathy to soothe him—was any one fortunate, he made him doubly so by seeming to participate in his joy. Mild be his slumbers as the dews of summer—Blithe be his mornings as the carols of the grove. His were the manners, bland, amiable and endearing, which smooth the rugged road of life, and bind man in love to his fellow man. While such men as *Caustic*, like the young foxes of Sampson in the corn of the Philistines, scatter fire-brands, anger and discontent.

Ye gentle, ye simple, ye wise and ye witty,
Who dwell in the country or live in the city;
For once, let me pray you, take *Robert's* advice,
And ne'er wound his feelings whose friendship you prize—
For sarcasms, jesting, and quizzing, depend,
Have made many foes—but ne'er yet made a friend.

THE PARSON OF APPLEBURY.*

I NEVER experienced a more uncomfortable night. It was the dead of winter, and a north-east storm of sleet and snow swept the plains with unusual violence.—Happening to be at the Parson's, he insisted that I should tarry all night, and I had not much objection, as I was only a visitor in Applebury. The little ones before they retired to rest, ran to receive their father's blessing. Owing to the severity of the storm (as we concluded) the sexton did not ring the bell; and at half past nine, the good man called his family together, to offer up the evening prayers to his Maker. The eldest daughter read a passage from the scriptures, and Mr. Clayton addressed the Throne of Grace, in a manner so solemn—so earnest, and so affecting—that the heart of

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an infidel would have softened into hope, and he would have mourned the day that he doubted.

We were just about to separate for the night, when a loud rap arrested our attention. "There is somebody in distress," said the Parson, and hastened to see who was there.—"I do not know who she is," said the sexton, as he entered the room with the Parson, "but she was lying on the door-steps of the meeting-house, as I went to ring the bell; so I raised her up and took her inside the door. I believe she is dead; but the child cried, so I left her there and posted away to you, for though she may be a poor hussey from another parish, I knew you wouldn't like it, if you were not told she was in distress." "Come, come," said the Parson, "let us make haste, she may perish while we stand here talking." "*George*, harness the sleigh and come after us as quick as possible." So taking a bottle of wine in his hand and giving me a blanket and some dry clothes, we followed the Sexton by his lanthorn, to the meeting-house.—Such a sight I never witnessed. A female, of a fine form, and of features, though pale, yet lovely, and clad in raiment that had once been neat, lay, apparently lifeless on the floor; while an infant of a few days old, lay sleeping on her white bosom. The child we immediately wrapped in dry flannel, and, after chaffing the temples of its mother, and forcing a glass of wine into her mouth, she showed signs of returning life. We placed her in the sleigh.—"Shall we drive her to the poor-house?" asked the Sexton. "Drive **HOME**, *George*," said Mr. *Clayton*. The sufferers were taken to the Parson's. The baby was fed, and every thing administered that kindness and skill could suggest to restore the mother to life. It was an hour, before she could speak. I entered the room where she lay—the Parson stood by her bed-side—his hands clasped together. Her eyes which rolled wildly on us, were large and blue, but though once evidently full of sweetness and expression—they now flashed the

appalling glance of the maniac. She waved her hand to us to be gone. "Leave me, leave me," cried she, "you are men and must be cruel." And then in accents so shrill—so feeble, and so plaintive, she wildly sung—

"Hush my baby—Gerard may be
Near enough to hear you cry;
Once he swore he'd never leave me,
Wa'n't it cruel to deceive me
And of virtue to bereave me?"

—There he is!—stay, Gerard—stay.
Gerard's eyes were black as jet,
Frown not—hasten not thus away:
Do not—do not leave me yet;
—Hush my baby—do not cry—
Oh! let wretched Mary die."

The composing draughts administered to the poor girl, at length quieted her to rest, and we left her; with the hope that sleep, "restorer of nature and kind nurse of men," might have a propitious influence on her health.—We had not been from her room more than an hour before Mr. Clayton's daughter softly opened the door to see whether her charge was comfortable, when she discovered the window open and the poor maniac gone. All search for her was vain—but we afterwards learned from a distance that a young woman, answering the description of *wretched Mary*, was seen wandering around, singing as she went.

"Should you some coast be laid on,
Where gold and diamonds grow;
You may find some richer maiden,
But none that loves you so."

And then she'd ask, with a melancholy smile,—"Wasn't it wicked to drown my baby—It was a pretty baby, but they drowned it."

. The manuscript left, and a gold chain that was on the neck of the infant, disclosed the mother's story, and if Mr.

Clayton will permit me, shall be copied for the *Gleaner*, when the story is told of the life of the little orphan.

But such was the conduct of the parson to the poor wanderer. He never shunned the bed of sickness, but

"More bent to raise the wretched than to rise."

The house of mourning was to him the place of constant resort.

Christmas soon came, and I was invited to the wedding of *John Wellworth* to *Fanny Aimwell*, the daughter of the 'Squire.—You know 'Squire *Aimwell*, he always set the psalm at meeting. Mr. *Clayton*, of course, married them; aye, and published the banns too, in the good old-fashioned way, before-hand. Half the young folks in Applebury were there. The ceremony was performed with due solemnity. But do you think that Mr. *Clayton* put on a long face and set in one corner, checking our mirth by his severity. I tell you what, you know nothing about the man if you think, because he was good, that he looked sour and could not smile. Not he. There wasn't a more blithe and merry man in the circle. I know he kissed the bride, for the girls' all said though she blushed and held down her head, that they heard the smack. He took a glass of wine, and I remember showed his good humor by laughing merrily at the sports of the young folks.*

O, the good old times of our younger days! There's no such happiness now.—All the young men were so neat. No one thought of smoking till he was forty—and the girls were so tidy, and in homespun too. Blest days! are ye gone for ever?

*Newspaper version: Ned Easy bet a four pence half penny with George Ardenburgh that he could press the piece of money on his forehead, so fast, that he could not frown or shake it off. So wetting George's forehead, he pressed the money on as hard as possible but slyly slipped it off as he took away his hand. Feeling the impression, and supposing the money left there, George, who was not naturally well featured scowled and frowned and shook his head to get it off, till all the circle was in a roar of merriment at his expense.

When the Parson went away, and he left us early, it would have done your heart good to see the young folks crowd around him, to bid him good night. Why there wasn't one in the village but what loved him as a parent.

It was not at the habitation of wretchedness, or in the social circle alone, that he disclosed his excellence. I have often heard him in the pulpit, for then every body loved to go to meeting. Why every pew and seat was full, and they didn't run around with a little black bag on a pole every sabbath, as they do now-a-days, for a penny.

In the pulpit he was solemn and impressive. He seemed as a shepherd in our Saviour's fold, to feel, that in being called to superintend the flock of his master, he was in an exalted and awfully responsible station.—Venerable man! Methinks I see him in the desk—persuasion, sweet as the dews of Hybla, distilling from his lips, while the invitations of the gospel flow to lost and perishing sinners. Or his eye, beaming with the consciousness of his duty, appalling with the tremendous denunciations of the law, the obdurately impenitent. No one slept while he spake. Hope and joy—terror and despair, alternately swelled the bosom with delightful emotions, or chilled it with dismay. *I never heard him but I rose up with a firm resolution to mend my life in respect to my Maker and my fellow man.*

Such was Mr. *Clayton*, the pastor of the parish of Applebury. I have often mentioned him, and thought you would like to know his character. Preachers of the Gospel, if ye deign to read the humble essays of *Poor Robert*, listen to him.—A great sculptor, you know, once condescended to take the advice of a poor cobler. The high may sometimes learn something from the low.—If there is ought in the character of Mr. *Clayton* worthy of imitation, read that part again and imitate his virtues. If there is ought amiss, forgive his errors and avoid his failings.

INTEMPERANCE.*



VISITING Franksburgh the other day, I stopt at my old friend captain *Freeman's*. "Come *Bob*," said he—for although my looks are somewhat reverend, the old captain when he feels in spirits, always addresses me thus familiarly. "Come *Bob*," said he, "go with me—I have found out a great curiosity. I'm sure you'll be wonderfully pleased." "I never was more astonished in my life," continued he, "aye, and a little frightened too—though by the by, I was at the battle of Trenton, and fought in the thickest of it, and when *Hamilton*—O! he was a brave fellow—methinks I see him storming the enemy's batteries at Yorktown—the army all loved him." "Dear father," interrupted Mary, with great gentleness, "perhaps Uncle *Robert* is tired, and has not had his dinner yet." "Right," said the captain, "give him his dinner, child; and bring a bottle of currant wine, and he shall see." "And what is it, captain," said I, "that is so wonderful?" "You shall see it—you shall see it," cried he. "Get your dinner and we'll off."

I soon finished my repast and away we went. What I saw was truly extraordinary and shall be told hereafter—but other objects employ my pen at present. On the way we were met by a tidy looking woman all in tears. "And what is the matter, *Susan*?" said the captain. "Dear—oh dear," sobbed she, "I'm in trouble. My good man you know, since he was in the service will take a drop—well I've worked—and worked—and paid his debts, till getting sick, every thing was sold, even the bed under me; and *Pat* was taken to prison—And only think, your honor, I worked out till I bought a cow and a spinning-wheel, on which I have toiled

*Published in the *Gleaner* for July 16, 1813.

and fed the darlings till to-day—when the constable came and took them both. Now your honor, I want to know if I bought them with my own labor, ar’n’t they my own?”

Capt. *Freeman* could give the poor woman no hope. However industriously she had toiled, it must all go for *Pat’s* liquor.—Thinks I, that’s hard—can’t the law mend it? It was late when we returned. I threw myself on the settle by the kitchen fire, for it was somewhat chilly, still musing on the fate of poor *Susan O’Flannagan*, and on the drunkenness of *Pat*, when I dreamed the following dream:

Methought I had turned into a fly, and was by some strange hap, corked in a bottle of strong beer, where I lay torpid till the year 1818. The bottle, which had been mislaid, being found, was opened—out I popped, and assumed my proper form, just as the Post came along with the GLEANER.—Eager for the news, I took it up and read as follows :

August 17th, 1818.

“The regulation of the Legislature, that a cow, a spinning-wheel and a bed, shall be exempt from execution, has been found, of great use to the poor. Many families that would otherwise be wretched, are now by the industry of the wife, rendered very comfortable.”

Wilkesbarre, November 7, 1818.

The Hospital erected in this County for drunken persons, is producing the most salutary effects. Every man found in a state of intoxication is taken there and confined.—Those who have been long in the habit of drinking, are allowed a little every day, but the quantity is gradually diminished, and plenty of milk and beer substituted for it—and it is very pleasant to see the change in the health of the patients. Many have been discharged perfectly cured, who bless the day that the institution was ever established.

Extract of a letter from Lancaster, dated June 7.

The Farmers in this County, have agreed, one and all, not to permit a drop of liquor to be taken into their fields, this season, but to take out a luncheon in the middle of the forenoon and afternoon, and to supply the workmen with plenty of strong beer and milk.

Harrisburg, April 9, 1818.

The roads being settled, and the time for ploughing come, the legislature of course adjourned last week. Many good things—many bad things, and some comical things, were as usual said, done and proposed.—But one law that has passed meets the general approbation of all thinking people. It provides that every person, getting intoxicated and squandering his property, shall have an overseer appointed by the court, without whose consent he shall not be competent to buy or sell. The effect, it is presumed will be, that many valuable families will still be able to live decently, who otherwise would be precipitated, by the intemperance of the father, into wretchedness.

How much more I might have dreamed I know not; but just at that moment the old Captain struck up his favorite song—

“Bold Robin had ranged the forest all round,
‘Twas on one summer’s day.”

And I awoke.—

SELF RESPECT.*

A PROPER degree of self respect is indispensable to our good conduct and usefulness in life. The man who does not respect himself, will be sure to be regarded by nobody; and the sphere of that man’s usefulness must be exceedingly limited, who is an object of contempt. There is as wide a difference between the self respect which I would approve,

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and vanity or pride, as there is between prudence and avarice; the former of which is a respectable virtue—the latter a detestable vice.

David Davenport was the son of poor, but honest parents, in Applebury. His education, like that of almost every other young man in that township, was plain and decent. At the age of fifteen, he was put out to a farmer, with whom he lived until he was twenty-one; at which time he married his master's daughter, rented a small farm, and by his industry has supported himself in a plain manner. Now Mr. *Davenport* is no way remarkable either for his genius or his learning. He has no wealth to give importance to his character; and none of those fortuitous events have happened to him, which sometimes give a moderate man a great name. And yet no man in Applebury commands more respect than Mr. *Davenport*. There are some men in the town who venture to joke and even* to talk obscenely before the 'Squire, who are nevertheless awed into perfectly good manners in the presence of Mr. *Davenport*.

There lives a neighbor of Mr. *D.* about the same age, who to a large estate, unites an excellent education, acute mind and much good nature. Such possessions you know, are calculated to make their possessor shine, in the city as well as in the country. But it unfortunately happens that Mr. *Atwit* is destitute of that important ingredient in a perfect character—*self respect*. He condescends to low and lascivious conversation with any one who chooses to chat with him. He never lets an opportunity slip of cracking what he calls a good joke—it matters not where, nor on whom. Instead of taking that station, for which his abilities qualify him, he shrinks from respectable observation, and avoids those places of public trust which seem to offer themselves to his acceptance.

*Newspaper version:—to joke with the parson and who do not hesitate to talk obscenely, etc.

The boys already hail him as he goes by, with the familiar call of "well *Jack*:" and with all his wealth—his strong natural abilities, and good education—and without a single habitual vice—he is neither respected nor useful. Though neither addicted to gaming nor drinking, yet the habits of the company he frequents must gradually grow on him, and the event it is but too easy to prophecy. What an amazing revolution would a little self respect, infused into his bosom, produce in him.

My female readers, while they are warned to guard against too much *vanity*, are earnestly requested to *respect themselves*.—It is one of the most powerful outworks that protect the citadel of virtue. The boldest libertine will feel himself repelled into silence, in the presence of the woman who is possessed of *self respect*. It chills the first advances—the insidious, poisonous advances of seduction. And girls, *Old Robert*, though a bachelor, loves you too sincerely not to wish that you may continue "chaste as the icicles which hang on the temple of Diana."

—————
"Let every lad and lady know,
That handsome are, who handsome do."*

—————

THIS couplet is older than the fashion of commodes and hoop-petticoats; and will be long remembered after the straw-bonnets and laced shoes of the present day, shall be forgotten.

There lately removed to Philadelphia a widow lady, having two daughters—the eldest distinguished for her beauty—the youngest remarkably plain in her features. The charm of *Margareta* soon became the theme of conversation, in the circle to which they were introduced; while *Lucy*, her neg-

*Published in the *Gleaner* for Sept. 10, 1813.

lected sister, was scarcely spoken of, except as a contrast to *Margareta*.

The eldest, of course, received every attention from the flattering and fashionable world—was the first invited to every party, and the foremost to lead off the dance at every assembly. Beauty rendered her vain.—Accustomed to adulation, she could ill bear the friendly admonitions of her mother, and often has her parent's cheek been wet with tears drawn forth by the angry expressions of her child. Flattered, though not loved—caressed, though not esteemed—*Margareta* became lost to everything but herself; the poor—the sick—her mother, and even her God, were all forgotten, in her devotion to her beauty and her pleasure.

While *Margareta* was thus blooming like the Sunflower, gazed at and admired by all around her; *Lucy*, like the humble and delicate violet, was scarcely noticed as existing, when the illness of her mother brought Doctor *R*——, a late eminent physician, to an acquaintance with the family. The Doctor was an acute observer, and could not fail to remark, while *Margareta* was often absent, with what unremitting and tender solicitude *Lucy* watched over her sick parent.—Pleased with her affection—the simplicity of her manners, and the correctness of her deportment, Doctor *R*—— engaged in conversation with her, and found, united to most unaffected goodness and piety, a correctness of taste, an extent of reading, and elevation of sentiment that charmed him. And from his intercourse with the poor he soon learned that *Lucy* was their most kind benefactress in want, and their most tender nurse in sickness.

A few weeks after Doctor *R*—— was enquired of, what he thought of the handsome Miss. *Margareta Anandale*, as he had lately an opportunity to become acquainted with the family. “You err,” said the Doctor, “it is *Lucy* that is handsomest.”—“Pardon me, Sir,” said the other, “but you

have certainly mistaken their names, *Margaretta* is the beauty." "I am right, I am right," rejoined the Doctor. "It is my motto—*Handsome are that handsome do.*" And he thus took occasion to speak of the virtues and accomplishments of *Lucy*.

A month did not pass away before a complete revolution was effected in the public taste. *Margaretta* was neglected, while *Lucy* was even troubled by the attentions lavished upon her. Still she maintained her modest and reserved manner, shrinking into retreat, rather than courting applause; and every body agreed, that though her features were not so regular, yet that there was an indescribable something of sweetness and grace, that was more attractive than beauty, in her appearance. The last accounts from the family mention that *Lucy* was soon to be married to Mr. *Worthington*, a young clergyman of established worth and merit, from Delaware; and if the prayers of the poor and the sick could avail her, she could not fail to be happy.

Certain is the conclusion as that light accompanies the sun—a sparkling eye, a rosy lip, regular features and an elegant form, are not half so attractive—so lovely—as duty to parents—piety—kindness to the sick—and gentleness of disposition. Beauty is the frail flower that perishes with the season.—Virtue is the oak that defies the storm of years.

—————

"GO TO THE ANT THOU SLUGGARD."*

—————

A LITTLE back of Mr. *Clayton's* house there rises a high hill, from the summit of which the whole country is spread out to view. 'Tis a pleasant prospect; and there are three steeples and seven school-houses, all in sight. It is there, that

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on thanksgiving nights, the boys make their "bon-fires"—and there the cannon is planted every Fourth of July. I used to delight to ramble thither with the Parson. He knew every family within reach of the eye, and their history from the earliest settlement of the town, and that was "long and many a day ago;" for some of the grave-stones are all moss-grown, and the inscriptions illegible.

One summer's day, as Mr. *Clayton* and I were climbing up the hill together, he stopped to view an ant-hill. The little people were right industrious. "I love to watch their motions," said he, "they are wise, and put man, with all his boasted learning and sense, to shame." '*Go to the Ant thou sluggard,*' was a wise precept."

As we seated ourselves on the rock that affords the best prospect of the surrounding country.—"Observe," said Mr. *Clayton*, "that old mansion, far beyond the village surrounded by those old elms—twenty years ago it belonged to Mr. *Goodrich*, whose father first settled there. The large mill below was his, and the choicest farm in the valley. The old folks say it was a most hospitable mansion. Every thanksgiving, the poor knew where to look for a fat goose or a chicken-pie. Every body that came to Applebury used to ride out to visit there. Old Captain *Goodrich* built it—his son and heir lived and died there, and then it descended to *John Goodrich*; who was as indolent and profuse, as his ancestors were industrious and frugal. I thought he would not prosper, for when, one stormy night, a poor man came to his house, he was too lazy to get up and let him in." I perceived that the text, "*Go to the Ant,*" was still in Mr. *Clayton's* mind. "And what became of him?" asked I. "Every thing," replied he, "went to waste. The fences fell down. The briars over-run his meadow; and, at last the Sheriff sold the whole estate; and now the footsteps of strangers are alone heard in the halls of his fathers.

"And who owns the property now?" said I. "One who had learnt wisdom at the Ant-hill," replied he. "About fifty years ago a smart little lad came to Applebury to seek his fortune. His hair was brown—his eye blue and lively—his tongue tripped a little with the brogue, for he came from the "Sweetest Isle of the Ocean."—He spoke pleasantly to every one—was as industrious as an ant—and old lady *Godwin*, at whose house he lived, seemed to delight to tell about their little Irish lad. "If he saw one of the girls going for a pail of water," said she, "he ran in a minute and brought it—if a stick of wood was wanted—he never waited to be told to fetch it—always shut the door after him, and every Sunday brushed up his shoes and went regularly to meeting; and I do believe," she used to add, "that Deacon *Godwin* loved him as well as either of the children." This good conduct soon brought *William* into high repute. He grew up—was a pattern of industry, integrity and frugality—married *Nancy Godwin*—became wealthy, without being proud—bought the *Goodrich* farm, and a dozen other plantations—was sent deputy from Applebury many a year, and is now enjoying the reward for following the lessons he learnt at the ant-hill.

Girls—girls—do you want advice—Cover up your *necks*—the weather is getting cold. Make long sleeves to your gowns—see there, your shoulders are all *goose-flesh*. Put on another *petticoat*—for shame. Thin morocco shoes are not fit for winter. One pair of good woollen stockings are worth more to your health than three pair of cotton. Now turn about—Aye, dear little saucy creatures, now I like ye. Go now and cut up the old flannel petticoat of last winter—that is, if you can spare it—and make the poor little girl that goes shivering along half naked, a comfortable suit.

Then tell me if you ever felt happier in your lives.

ADDITIONAL ESSAYS*

Furnished by Mr. Clayton, Pastor of Applebury.

GOVERN YOUR PASSIONS.

PASSING along the west end of Applebury, one pleasant afternoon in April, Mrs. *Caperton* observed to me, that it was a good while since we had drunk tea with Mr. *Neville* and his good lady, and proposed that we should call. I had not the least objection, and we were received with a cordial welcome both by Sir and Madam. Mr. *Neville* about twenty-three years before, had married a fine, spirited girl—they had thirteen lovely children, and it was whispered, Mrs. *Caperton* told me, that the nose of the youngest was nigh broken. Their fortune was easy—plenty always smiled upon their board; and they had no cause of disquietude, but what arose from a foolish spirit of contradiction about trifles; for in every important matter they agreed perfectly.—But this was a source of endless difficulty, and the bane of all their happiness.

While we were sitting by the window after tea, we observed at a distance a fire rising upon the side of the hill. Some persons were in the habit of kindling these fires to make the grass grow better, as the mountain was an outlet for their cattle.—Every thing till this moment had gone on right pleasantly. Mr. *Neville* remarked that the sight brought the old distich to his mind—

“Fire on the mountain,
“Run boys—run boys.”

“I believe you are a little wrong,” said Mrs. *Neville*, “in the termination. It is

“Fire on the mountain,
“Run boys, run.”

*Publication in newspaper not located.

"It is no great matter, my love," said he pettishly, "but I am sure I am not mistaken, whoever else may be."

"Some folks always think themselves right," cried Mrs. *Neville*, "and ignorance and confidence generally go together."

"Bray a fool in a mortar," exclaimed Mr. *Neville*, "you know the rest, Madam."

"Yes," cried she, "and answer not a fool according to his folly too, or I could say something that some folks could not very well swallow, Sir."

Will you walk, Mrs. *Caperton*, said I. She rose, took her bonnet and shawl. "I am sorry we have driven you away, friends," said Mrs. *Neville*, mildly "but Mr. *Neville* is so unkind as not to bear the least with me," added she, casting a side look at him.

"Indeed *Eunice*," said he, "my temper is so hasty; come love, don't let our friends leave us in a pet."

We exchanged "good night"—"good night"—and left them with the remark that will apply to more families than neighbor *Neville's*—that the happiness of the domestic circle is oftener disturbed about trifles, for want of a rein upon our passions, than by any causes affording serious ground of complaint.

The hint it is hoped will be taken, and this truth remembered—that where there is not domestic happiness, felicity does not exist—religion is most likely a stranger, and morality will be very soon an exile.

And what is the conclusion of the whole matter?

GOVERN YOUR PASSIONS.

*An Essay read by Mr. Clayton one evening to a number of his Parishioners, with the intention, in a good-humored way, to laugh them out of those high party notions which began to prevail, and divide old Applebury.**



—“RUINED, ruined,” cried my grandfather, as he raised his spectacles from his nose to his forehead—“we are an undone people.” “What in the world is the matter now, father?” asked my aunt *Hannah*, earnestly. “Matter!” cried the old gentleman, “matter enough! was there ever a nation going so fast to destruction? A Virginia nabob for President! A most unnatural war! Heaven knows it could never prosper! Take Canada—take a fiddle-stick’s end. And then our taxes are doubled—commerce all destroyed—religion and liberty kicked out of doors—and every good man turned out of office. I’ll tell you, (exclaimed he vehemently) we are a ruined people. Democracy is the bane of freedom—I wouldn’t trust a democrat with a field of mill-stones uncounted.” “Poh, Poh!” said my aunt *Hannah*, “you are in a passion, father—if a democratic neighbor wanted anything you would let him have it.” “Have it,” cried the old gentleman, “yes, I’d let him have it, if it was a halter.”

“Grandfather,” said my brother *Israel*, coming in at that moment, “will you lend Mr. *Willard* your horse to go to mill?”—“Why child,” said my grandfather, softening his voice, “I was going to town—but he would not ask for him if he didn’t want him; yes, he may take him.” “I thought,” said my aunt *Hannah*, “you wouldn’t trust a democrat, and yet Mr. *Willard* is the hottest in the neighborhood.” “Well, well,” said the old gentleman, “he’s wrong in his politics—plaguy wrong; but he’s a good neighbor, and I believe honest in his error; he’s welcome to him.”

*Publication in newspaper not located.

I could not help smiling at my grandfather's political passion, contrasted with his social conduct to his opponents. I turned and went to the Post-Office.

"Traitors!—Tories!" cried a lean, dark-complexioned man. "They may call themselves Federalists, but I say they are all a set of tories, and traitors to the country. Every man that don't support government is a traitor; the war must be supported; opposition must be put down; "if fair words won't do, we must try what virtue there is in stones." The country is ruined by division; we must be united; he that is not for us is against us—the election is coming on, and we'll see who votes for tories and who votes for their country." "Stop, stop," said a little round faced man who stood near him, "you are in a passion; the Federalists are not tories; I know many of them who fought last war." "Zounds! sir," interrupted the lean man, "yes, they fought, but against us. Sir, they are a set of rascals, villains, cheats, liars; there isn't an honest man in the party—they're—Here his breath failed him, and he fell down in a fit, produced by excess of passion.—Medical aid was afforded, and with difficulty could he be brought to respire. "I must die, (cried he as he opened his eyes) I wish Mr. *Heartwell* would act as guardian to my little ones, and settle my estate." "But," said the little round-faced man, "he is a Federalist." "*That's the reason I chose him,*" said the man, who thought he was breathing his last.

Think—says—I, men talk much at random. Political discussion and declamation is full of sound and fury—signifying nothing.—There is more friendship, and humanity and good will at bottom, after all, among the great body of the people, than would be imagined, if we judged from the acrimony of political disquisitions.

A POETICAL EFFUSION

of

*POOR ROBERT THE SCRIBE.**

WHY sits disdain upon thy brow!
Why pouts that ruddy lip so now?
Though, pretty maid, thine eye is bright
As evening star on winter's night.

Although thy cheek so sweetly glows,
Like brightest blush of damask rose:
Thou know'st—IT IS DECREED—that eye
Low in the grave must sightless lie,
That cheek that wears so bright a bloom,
Shall fade and perish in the tomb.

Doat not then maiden, on thy charms,
But wake thy soul to death's alarms:
Nor pride, nor beauty, from the grave,
That form, that cheek, that eye can save.

But oh! there dwells within that breast,
A spirit—an immortal guest,
In beauty more resplendent far
Than damask rose or evening star,
Which, envious death, survives the hour,
When mortals own thy withering power.

Haste then, improve that noble part,
Worth all thy care, worth all thy art:
That must be noble which to GOD'S allied,
And worth all care for which a SAVIOR died.

*Publication in newspaper not located.

TO POOR ROBERT, THE SCRIBE.*



I FIND you and I, having lived in the world till a good many precious years have rolled over our heads; and viewed the gradual innovations upon the manners and customs in which we were brought up, begin to look upon the change with regret. Whether it arises from the affinity of our ages or the congeniality of our dispositions, I don't know; but from some cause or other, I begin to like you very well, though I suppose I never saw you in my life. There is one subject I have a long time wanted to open my mind to you upon, i. e. the present situation of Newspapers in our country. Newspapers were originally intended to convey political news, but they have increased to such amazing numbers and bulk that it were in vain to attempt to fill them entirely with political matter either pleasing or instructive. It becomes necessary, therefore, to supply the deficiency from some other sources; and the abundance of matter of every description with which the world is continually teeming, renders this an easy task. History, philosophy, agriculture, religion, biography, criticism, literature, romance, poetry, every thing in short which can interest the mind of busy man, finds a place in a modern newspaper. They have become the general miscellany of the age. By the old and young, male and female, learned and unlearned, they are anticipated with impatience, received with anxiety and read with avidity.

The insatiable desire for something new which seems to be implanted in our dispositions, makes us anxious for the arrival of the newspaper. It is there, if any where, we expect to be gratified. And what is thus universally read must have an overwhelming influence on the minds of a people.

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Not in volume of Essays.

Newspapers have been known to control the most inveterate ministry of England; they gave independence to the United States; they have since stirred up party animosity amongst us and have divided a free people into great political factions. Newspapers awaked the French nation from a "*sleep of despotism,*" agitated and invigorated the whole empire, and overturned the throne of the imperial Bourbon, upheld by the veneration of fourteen centuries. But their power to do hurt is as great as their power to do good, and it becomes a matter of the highest concern to every thinking man that they should be conducted properly. In the Country, more especially than in populous towns, it is necessary that they be conducted with strict adherence to truth, to candour, and to matter substantially useful. In cities the sources of amusement are many and excellent; the newspaper of course excites less interest and attention except for matters of pecuniary benefit. But country places are usually without any regular amusements, without circulating libraries, without periodical publications, without theatres, without museums, without shows; and without regular compact societies which afford opportunity for a mutual interchange of ideas, and the newspaper becomes the only vehicle of instruction and amusement. It is constantly consulted for information in matters most nearly allied to our interest viz. to know the laws of the country, the transactions of Government, who are the candidates at the elections, in short every thing that folks are about abroad and every thing that can be beneficial to us at home. In the consideration, therefore, that newspapers go into the hands of all classes of citizens, that they are perused by every eye, that they influence in a great degree the opinion of every individual in society and that our actions are dictated by our opinions; I regret that many of them are prostituted to the basest of matter. Conducted, many of them, by simpletons who are ignorant of the mischiefs they may cause, many of them by

designing knaves, who are sensible of the confidence with which the grossest untruths will be received, many of them by apostates abandoned to the most unqualified infidelity; this great source of national instruction is become corrupt. By a continual alluvian of party animosity and an equal dereliction from truth, this great river has insensibly shifted its channel, its waters have become impure, and should be drank with caution.

I speak with freedom, though I am sensible the printers have the staff in their own hands. Thank fortune, as I grow old I have the less to fear from them. They are the most powerful class of citizens in our country; for though few in themselves, they control a multitude and keep the Government in awe. Government with us, is the result of the opinion of the people. He who can exercise the dictatorial power and control this opinion rises at once above the Government, rides over the laws of the land, corrects, amends, and controls it, and subjects it to the loose and fluctuating dictates of his own mind. But it were vain at this late day to attempt to restrain printers from an undue influence in politicks, and indeed I only wish that they would in general pay a more strict regard to truth. But what I principally regret is that I can hardly take up any paper but the one in which you appear now a-days without being shocked with some outrageous abuse of private characters. This is the most villainous practice a printer can be guilty of. Without conferring one cent's advantage on the publick, it frequently ruins the peace and tranquility of families and infixes an arrow in the side of an innocent man that can never be extricated. I am glad to see the paper in which you appear so far free of this practise. I hope as soon as it ceases to be so you will cease to give it your sanction; but as my piece is long I will break off here. You perhaps may hear from me again on this subject, until which time I remain your sincere admirer.

UNCLE TOBY.

FROM THE DESK OF POOR ROBERT THE SCRIBE
(POSTHUMOUS.)*

O Applebury! "Loveliest village of the plain!" To thee how strongly are my affections bound! Though cruel fate hath separated us, perhaps forever, yet every hill and valley—every rock and tree, from the utmost precincts of the parsonage—to the furthest limits of the lake, is associated with dear and tender recollections. Tho' thou art "Far beyond the mountain that looks so distant here," yet imagination paints thee, mellowed by distance but all lovely as thou wert, to my delighted mind. Methinks I see thy high and well formed spire, rising from the meeting house on the plain and the old inn, "across the way" where erst my friends and I, "in merry mood," gay and innocent, led forth our partners in the social dance.

Beyond, on the brow of the hill gently declining to the south, breaking through the thick foliage of the trees, the habitation of the parson rises to the view, the garden filled with finest fruit and blooming with the lilly, the holly, and the rose—and producing for the poor and the sick, the rosemary, the rue, the camomile and the thyme.

In the large white house, that is seen near the lake, lives deacon Active, and in the numerous snug and comfortable cottages that rise around in "regular confusion," and constitute the village, reside a hardy, honest, hospitable, industrious yeomanry. Nor will "busy meddling memory" give up the view without leading me to that awful spot "where the rude fathers of the hamlet sleep." Many a friend, dear to my heart rests there, and among them in yon green grave, thy beauteous form O Mary! the habitation of the purest soul.—Forgive me!—Oh Memory! why didst thou lead me hither?

*Published in the *Gleaner* for Feb. 25, 1814. Not in the volume of Essays.

—My poor heart bursts with anguish, though many and long have been the days since I saw her—but she sleeps there and I must soon follow her.—

‘Soft sigh the winds of Heav’n o’er her grave.’

Hark! hear ye the clatter of yon mill at the outlet of the lake. The ancient miller never did harm to his fellow mortal. Steady as his mill—his mind pure as the water that turns it, he reads a chapter in the bible every morning—examines the almanack to ascertain the weather—takes a nap on a bag after dinner, and lives happier than the proudest prince in christendom.

In the yellow house, shaded by those high elms, resides our physician. A short time ago I made you acquainted with Mr. Clayton, our parson : permit me to introduce to you Mr. Welford. I know him well. His deportment was generally grave, yet among his friends he would sometimes relax into the most unreserved playfulness, gaiety and humour. The morning hours he devoted to study. Always attentive, he never, to indulge his pleasure or amusements permitted a patient to wonder “*why the doctor did not come.*”—His medicine was generally of the mildest sort ; and yet, when occasion required, he did not fail to exhibit a most decided and efficient course of practice. His charges were never oppressive and to the poor always moderate.

I was sitting at his window one summer evening, when he came in. The candle was removed into an adjoining room on account of the swarm of flies that gathered around it, and he did not know that any one but the family was there. “You have been detained late, my dear,” said Mrs. Welford, affectionately. “And have come home very unhappy,” answered he. “I have been,” continued he “to visit the family of poor Artless, where two of the children are ill with the prevailing fever, and they are destitute of every comfort: Have you anything to send them?”—“Poor creatures,” said

she "they must not suffer." The boy was immediately sent off with a basket containing some candles—a little tea—a loaf of bread, and some preserves for the sick children to take their medicine in; with orders to send up for anything else that was wanted. Mr. Welford immediately became social and happy. Indeed he possessed the disposition to be made happy by rendering others happy around him. To see him pull a tooth for a trembling and heartless girl—so jocose and merrily would he cheat her of the pain, that you would vow he was a rare lively man. But could you see him at the bed of departing life, pouring the balsam of hope, in the sacred name of his divine master, into the afflicted bosom, you would be persuaded it was Mr. Clayton's self was there. And, indeed, in learning as well as piety, he did not fall far short of the parson, and was always called upon in his absence to render into english the little scraps of latin that appeared in the almanack or news-paper.

His library, though not very extensive, was yet respectable; and was open to every one who would use the books carefully. Of novels he had few. The Vicar of Wakefield, however was on his shelf. The Spectator, more particularly the last volume, was much read. Swift he liked not; admitting his genius, but absolutely denying his piety. Watts' Lyric Poems. The life of Col. Gardner; Paradise Lost; Josephus; Pilgrim's Progress; Don Quixote; Bishop Burnet's History of his own times; Robinson Crusoe; and Young's Night Thoughts, seemed to have been most used, next to the Bible and his Medical works, but which was his favourite I do not know. Such was the physician of Applebury.

“OLD ROBERT THE SCRIBE.”*



By the last mail we received the following melancholy intelligence; we give it as it came, for we are too much affected to indulge in any remarks.

Applebury, Nov. 1, 1813.

“IT is with extreme pain I inform you that our mutual friend POOR ROBERT THE SCRIBE departed this life on the 28th day of last month. He came to Applebury about the 20th and appeared remarkably melancholy. I pressed him with all the ardour of friendship to disclose the cause of his sorrows, for I suspected he was in love again; at length he told me.—“That he had been persuaded to consent to have his essays collected and published in a little volume: That his friends had assured him they were so popular that there was no doubt but three hundred subscribers could be obtained, which would enable him to pay off the mortgage upon the old homestead in Applebury, and leave him pretty independent.—That he had, he could not tell how, a strange feeling about his heart, a little mixture, he thought of honest pride, and pardonable vanity, arising from the thought of being an author. That subscription papers were issued from your office for his work, to be returned on the first of October.—That he visited you on the 12th and found to his most poignant mortification that you had got but about fifty subscribers.—He never had felt well since, and now he assured me he was certain that his dissolution was approaching.”

I strove to cheer him; and told him to recollect that the first literary essay of Hume fell ‘dead-born from the press.’—“He was an infidel” said Robert, “and if it had pleased God, I would have been content that all his philosophical works had fallen like the first.” “My essays” continued he “I hope

*Published in the *Gleaner* for Nov. 26, 1813. Not included in volume of Essays.

are not destitute of some useful hints for religious—moral and domestic improvement." I told him I thought the general scope of his work was good, but I must candidly say I thought he had treated Mrs. Mobcap rather rudely. He expressed his regret and hoped to be forgiven.

Still I could not cheer him. Every day he grew paler and paler. There appeared little pain or fever—but a prostration of strength and gradual wasting of his frame. On the 24th he took entirely to his bed—said little—and never smiled. On the 25th your letter arrived mentioning that a number of subscription papers had been returned full of names, and among the rest one from Hartford, with subscriptions for an hundred and fifty copies.

His countenance instantly brightened up—Giving me the key of his portmanteau, he bid me take out a roll of papers, which he had before ordered to be burnt, and gave directions that they should be sent to you. I thought for a while he would have recovered—but he was too far gone. On the 26th he sunk into a lethargic state, and early on the morning of the 28th breathed his last, aged 47 years. I shall write to you again soon. In the meantime I am with all charitableness of feeling your friend.

(Signed) Joseph Clayton.

(The roll of papers which may appear hereafter, contained a few numbers from the pen of our old friend. His friends will not be displeased to learn that the essays of Poor Robert will be put to press in about ten days.)

(The following essay was sent us by a friend for whom we have the highest regard.—His communications are always welcome: but with deference we suggest that he should *condense* a little more.)*

For the GLEANER.

From the DRAWER of YOUNG ROBERT.



MR. PRINTER,

My father and myself took a journey, not long since, up to Cooperstown, and the next morning after our return, father came into my house, which is only just across the road, and said to me, "Robert, the letter which we have so long expected from Applebury has been received, and I must set out tomorrow morning for that place.—I had intended to have sent our friend the Printer, some account of our late journey; but this circumstance will now prevent, and I wish you would do it in my absence. If you ever expect to write anything for the Print, it is time you began: for I wrote several pieces that were printed before I was as old as you. I shall see our paper in Applebury and should like to see in it something from home." Not long after this he went out—and I said to my wife,—'well Mary, is it best for me to try to write something for the paper.' 'You must do as you please,' said she 'you know it would please father if you could.'—So Mr. Printer, after some deliberation I concluded to take the old gentleman's hint, and send you some account of our journey—

As we were coming home, down along the Susquehanna, we called to see an old friend of fathers, who formerly lived only about 20 miles from Applebury: one Deacon Meanwell, a worthy old gentleman as I ever became acquainted with. It happened to be Saturday, and as my father never made a

*Published in the *Gleaner* for Dec. 3, 1813. Not included in volume of Essays.

practice of travelling on Sunday, we accepted of Deacon Meanwell's invitation to stay and spend the Sabbath with him.—We accordingly attended meeting with him on Sunday: where, although the country was new, and the meeting was in a log house, I saw as modest and worthy looking a congregation as I ever saw. They had no settled Minister, but the Deacons read sermons, and they sung and conversed in a plain christian like manner. After we had returned to Deacon Meanwell's, he and my father spent the remainder of the Sabbath principally in conversation upon the present and former customs of the church and the manners of the people. After some time, father observed to Deacon Meanwell, "It appears to me, Deacon, that you have one custom here which might be remedied." "What is that?" "Why," said my father, 'you have got considerably advanced in years, you cannot so well bear fatigue as you formerly did: but I observed to-day notwithstanding that you stood up and read the whole of the sermon yourself, when there were several younger men in meeting, who were better able to undergo the fatigue than yourself. I can remember in Applebury before we had a settled Minister there, we used to apply to the younger men to read the sermon and psalm, and I think there are many reasons which make it proper; one is, it is too fatiguing for old people: another is, every few years produce some changes in the manner of pronunciation, cadence, &c. And we ought, undoubtedly, to bring up our children in the modes and forms which are customary in their days, and not teach them the old rules that we were taught in that respect, for after some time they would not understand the rest of the world, every age producing some change, and as our young people and children attend meetings, and are taught to revere and respect every thing they see done there. We ought in meeting to set before them the same examples which they have at school. Besides that kind of deference paid to their learning makes them am-

bitious to learn well, and to qualify themselves for the honour of reading in meeting, and other public assemblies. It likewise forms another motive for them to attend meeting regularly. And as parents are generally pleased to see their children taken notice of, it induces them to encourage schools and to attend meeting themselves. It likewise has a tendency to give young people confidence and to make them anxious to be useful in society.' 'Well, upon my word,' said Deacon Meanwell. 'I never have thought so much upon this subject before. I will deliberate more upon this subject, and I think I shall adopt the measures you seem to recommend.' Now, Mr. Printer, I know the reasons which father gave, have some weight. Why I can remember at a meeting once in Applebury, before parson Speakwell was settled there, our family all attended as usual, and as the sermon was about to begin, Deacon Goodman said to me, 'Robert will you read the sermon to-day?' At that time you must know, Mr. Printer, I was quite a boy, and had not done going to school, and this question made me feel strangely: I looked at father, but he did not shake his head, and as I wanted to very much, although I felt a little afraid, I rose and told the Deacon I would try: so he handed me the book, and I began. I was a little choaked at first, but it soon wore off, and I read it, I thought, very well. We had hardly got home before my mother called me to her and said, 'Robert, you have done nicely to-day, my son; I was much pleased to see you read so well, and as a reward, here is my new psalm book, which I will give you.' I observed a tear stood in her eye, as she gave it to me, and I could hardly speak loud enough to thank her for it. In the evening, after tea, father came from his study into the sitting-room, with two books in his hand, and he said to me "Bob, here is an excellent work, it is "Echard's Ecclesiastical History," which I purchased some time ago, intending it as a present for you when some particular circumstance should render you deserving of it. You have

read the sermon so well to-day, that I think it now a proper time to give it to you. After reading it a few times you will know how to prize it."

The effect of these circumstances has never yet wore off, and I trust they never will, Mr. Printer.—So that when father was talking to Deacon Meanwell I felt pretty powerfully the force of the remarks.

As it happened, on the next morning after our attendance at the meeting with Deacon Meanwell, the District School was to be opened, by a new teacher, and as some parade was to be made on the occasion, we concluded to stay until after dinner, before we proceeded on our return, and in the meantime to attend the opening of the school with the Deacon. The new master appeared to be a young man of a good education, and a very proper teacher for such a school; besides his recommendations were of the very first kind. The Deacon made a prayer for the future prosperity of the school, &c. And after the scholars had commenced their course of reading, I observed that several of the pupils pronounced very unfashionably, and their cadence, punctuation, &c. was not at all in the modern mode. The Teacher stopp'd them; taught them in what manner the accent and cadence should be laid, and enquired where they contracted the habit which they practiced.—One of the oldest boys answered that their former master read so, and that was the way the Deacons read the Sermon in the meeting.—‘Well’ said the Teacher, ‘that is the way people used to read, but they have now adopted the way which I tell you, which is thought to be best.’—Deacon Meanwell turned to father, and in a low voice I heard him say, ‘I now see the propriety of your remarks in full.’

INDEX.

A

- Abington, Pa., 18.
Ackerman, William G., 63.
Adams,
 Daniel, 22.
 Elizabeth, 11.
Aldermash, The, 30.
Allison,
 Henry, 28.
 William, (Col.), Regiment, 8, 16.
Andreas,
 Anna Elizabeth, 61.
 Anna Marie, 61.
 Barbara (Balliett), 61.
 Catherine Miller, 61.
 Daniel, 61.
 Elizabeth, 62.
 Gertrude (Guldner), 61.
 Jacob, 59, 61.
 John, 61, 62.
 John George, 61.
 John Jacob, 61, 62.
 John Peter, 61.
 John William, 61.
 Magdalena, 61.
 Margaret (Barager), 61.
 Nancy Miller, 61.
 Peter, 60, 61.
 Sarah, 61.
 Sarah (Washburn), 60, 61.
 Stephen, 62.
 Susanna (Barager), 61.
 Thankful Washburn, 60, 61.
 William, 62.
Anthracomyia, 98-99, 100.
Attleboro, Mass., 38.
Axe to grind, 194-95.

B

- Baker,
 Ebenezer, 38, 39.
 Joseph, 39, 43.
 Susannah, 38.
Welthy (Harding), 39, 43.
Balliett, Barbara, 61.
Bantry, Mass., 5.
Barager,
 Margaret, 61.
 Susanna, 61.
Bartlett,
 Deborah (Harding), 13.
 Ebenezer, 28.
 Moses, 13.
Bates, Caleb, 18.
Beaumont, André Alden, Jr., 107.
Beaver Co., Pa., 9.
Becker, J. J., lxii.
Bedford, Jacob, 32.
"Beech Woods," 29.
Benedict, James, 25.
Bennett,
 Mrs. Ellen W. (Nelson), lxii.
 Marcus W., 41.
 Mary Miranda (Harding), 41.
Bethany, Wayne Co., Pa., 36.

- "Betsey's brook," 30.
Blacksmith, John, *see* Red Jacket.
Blin,
 Catherine, 60, 61.
 Jacob, 61.
 Rebecca (Washburn), 60, 61.
Blooming Grove, Ohio, 9, 26, 38, 40, 41,
 42, 44, 45, 46.
Boston, 4, 5, 6.
Boyce,
 Phoebe Ann (Harding), 40.
 William, 40.
Bourne,
 Lydia, 47, 52.
 Thomas, 47, 52.
Boyd, Julian P., Foreword to Essays of
 Poor Richard, 189-94.
Braintree, Mass., 5, 6, 11, 12.
Brodhead, Mrs. Fanny (Loveland), lxii.
Brown,
 Enos, 24.
 James, 18.
Buttolph, Thomas, 4.
By-Laws, lxxviii-lxxxii.
- ## C
- Callendar,
 J. M., 33.
 Nathan, 32, 33, 37.
Camp meeting, Great, 186.
Canute, the Dane, Harding descent
 from, 2.
Carbonicola, 98-99, 100.
Carboniferous rocks, Non-Marine shells
 of upper, 98-106.
Carr, Henry James, lxii.
Cary, Elemuel, 28.
Catlin,
 Clara B. (Gregory), 70.
George, 63-97.
Ancestry, 82.
Art, 79.
Bibliography, 81, 83-97.
Indians at Windsor Castle, 76.
Interview with Louis Philippe, 77.
Return to Europe, 78.
Visit to Central and South Amer-
 ica, 78.
Visit to London, 74-76.
Visit to Paris, 77-78.
Mrs. George, Death of, 77.
Polly (Sutton), 60.
Putnam, 68.
Catlin Powder Horn, 63-67.
Catlinite, 74.
Chamberlain, Mrs. Andrew, 30.
Chemung Township, 19.
Churchman,
 Aun, 47, 55.
 Hugh, 56.
Clifford, Susque. Co., Pa., 17, 26, 29, 30,
 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41.
Clift, Charles E., lxii.
Coal measures, 98, 99, 100.

- Coller,
 Daniel, 28.
 Jesse, 28.
 Reuben, 28.
 Congdon, Frances, 13.
 Conyngham,
 David H., 29.
 Redmond, 29, 31, 32.
 Cook, Sarah, 82.
 Cooke,
 Francis, 47, 49, 50, 51, 182.
 Hester, 50.
 Mester (Mahieu), 51.
 Jacob, 50, 51.
 Jane, 47, 49, 50, 51.
 John, 50, 51.
 Mary, 50, 51.
 Corsica, Ohio, 9, 44.
 Crane, Samuel, 58.
 Crawford,
 Joshua, 42.
 Mary Ann, 9, 41.
 Sophia (Mrs. Joshua), 42.
 Cuddeback, Henry, 33.
 Cunningham, Rev., 45.
 Curtis, Bridget, 20.
- D
- Dando, Walter B., lxiii.
 Davies, John H., Non-Marine Shells, 98-106.
 Deerpark, 15, 16, 18.
 DeWitt, Amy (Harding), Harding genealogy by, 6.
 DeWolf,
 Charles, 14.
 Sabra (Harding), 14.
 Dickerson,
 Charity Malvina (VanKirk), 42, 43.
 E. E., 46.
 Phebe Elizabeth, 9, 42, 43.
 Sarah Eleanor (Harding), 42.
 Dickover, George T., lxiii.
 Dimmock, A., 34.
 Dolson, Anna, 9, 14.
 Doud, Isaac, 28.
 Dundaff, Pa., 30, 33.
 Dungan,
 Frances (Latham), 13.
 William, 13.
 Dunham, Elvira, 39.
 Durkee, Robert, Wyoming Company, 19.
- E
- Early American Snobs, 128-55.
 Elkdale, Pa., 39.
 Ellsworth,
 James, 18.
 Phebe, H., 18.
 Essays of Poor Richard, 189-289.
 Estance,
 Bridget, 12.
 Thomas, 12.
 Estheria, 100
 Evans, Annette, Indian loving Catlin, 68-82.
 Exeter, Pa., 5, 14, 19, 21.
- F
- Farmersville, 29.
 Felten, Henry, 28.
 Field,
 Mahala (Harding), 40.
 Richard L., 40.
 Finch, Isaac, 22.
 Finn,
 James, 32, 33.
 Polly (Mrs. James), 32.
 Fox, Dixon Ryan, 128.
 Frear, Eleanor, 26, 35.
 French, Harry Livingston, lxiii.
 Funds, Special and Endowment, lv-lix.
- G
- Galion, Ohio, 9, 38, 42, 44, 45, 46.
 Gardner,
 Amy, 13, 26.
 Frances (Congdon), 13.
 Stephen, 13.
 Gifts,
 1927, xv-xvi.
 1928, xxvii-xxxii.
 1929, xliii-xlv.
 Gilchrist, Isabel M., lxiii.
 Gillott, Pedro Ramon, lxiii.
 Godcharles, Frederick A., Sketch of Capt. Stephen Harding, 7.
 Gorges,
 Ferdinand (Sir), 5.
 Fernando, (Sir), 6, 11.
 Mary (Harding), 5, 6, 11.
 Robert (Capt.), 5, 6, 11.
 Gorges family, 10.
 Goshen, 20.
 Grahamville, 15.
 Greene, Emery G., 32.
 Greenville, 31, 32.
 Greenville township, 15.
 Greenzweig, Elizabeth, 61.
 Gregory, Clara B., 70.
 Grindstone, Who'll turn, 194-95.
 Guldner, Gertrude, 61.
- H
- Halifax, Nova Scotia, 14.
 Hallsted,
 Isaiah, 28.
 Joseph, 28.
 Samuel, 28.
 Halstead,
 Isaiah, 22.
 Harden,
 Abrahma, 15.
 Richard, 5.
 Hardin, John, 13.
 Harding,
 A. J. (Major), 25.
 Abigail Victoria, 43.
 Abraham, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16,
 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 36.
 Abraham, Jr., 20, 25.
 Amos, 9, 17, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29,
 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39,
 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46.
 Amy (Gardner), 5, 13, 44.
 Anna (Mrs. Salmon E.), 44.

- Anna (Dolson), 9, 14, 15, 17, 20.
 Anna (Jackson), 39.
 Anna (Roberts), 36, 40.
 Anna (Wheat), 38.
 Benjamin, 5, 23.
 Benjamin Franklin, 39.
 Bridget (Estance), 12.
 Catherine, 42.
 Charity M., 43.
 Charles, 14.
 Charles Alexander, 9, 41, 42, 43, 45.
 Chauncey C., 39.
 Chester, 4.
 Daniel, 14.
 Deborah (Mrs. Abraham), 9, 13.
 Ebenezer Slocum, 34, 39.
 Eleanor P., 43.
 Eliza, 14.
 Eliza (Lathrop), 38.
 Elizabeth, 5, 42.
 Elizabeth (Mrs. Abraham), 4.
 Elizabeth (Adams), 11.
 Elizabeth (Madison), 9, 40, 41.
 Ella (Roberts), 40.
 Elvira (Dunham), 39.
 Florence (Kling), 43.
 George, 4.
 George Tyrone, 9, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45.
 Hannah, 14.
 Harris, 14.
 Henry, 24, 25.
 Hester (Wyllis), 4.
 Hilah, 30.
 Hulda, 30, 36, 39, 40.
 Hulda (Tryon), 8, 9, 26.
 Isabenda (McGowan), 41.
 Israel, 13, 14.
 James, 14.
 Jane, 4.
 Jemima, 36, 39.
 John, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18,
 26, 27, 39.
 Joseph 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 23, 26, 36, 39.
 L. O., 46.
 Lemuel, 18, 19, 21.
 Lucy, 14.
 Luke, 44.
 Lydia, 5, 12, 30, 36, 38, 44.
 Lydia (Tripp), 17, 18.
 Lydia Frances, 42.
 M. R., 32.
 Mahala, 40.
 Margaret Caroline, 42.
 Martha (Steele), 38.
 Mary, 5, 6, 10, 11.
 Mary (Otis), 38.
 Mary (Richards), 13.
 Mary (Webster), 39.
 Mary Ann (Crawford), 9, 41.
 Mary Clarissa, 43.
 Mary Matilda, 42.
 Mary Miranda, 41.
 Mercy (Vibber), 15.
 Minerva (Martindale), 38.
 Mordecai, 40, 43.
 Mordecai Rice, 38.
 Mordica, 34.
 Nancy, 14.
 Naomi (Wilson), 39.
 Oliver, 19.
 Phebe, 18.
 Phebe (Tripp), 9, 26, 30, 33, 34, 36,
 37, 39, 40, 43.
 Phebe Elizabeth (Dickerson), 9, 42, 43.
 Philip, 4.
 Phoebe Ann, 40, 42.
 Phoebe Caroline, 43.
 Rachel (Story), 39.
 Rhoda King, 17.
 Richard, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 20.
 Rice, 9.
 Robert (Capt.), 4.
 Ruami, 38.
 Sabra, 14.
 Salmon, E., 33, 34, 35, 38, 43, 45.
 Sarah (Harris), 14.
 Sarah Eleanor, 42.
 Solomon E., 38, 45.
 Stephen, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14,
 25, 26.
 Stukeley, 5, 23.
 Susan (Mason), 38.
 Susanna (Mrs. Philip), 4.
 Susannah (Mrs. Mordecai), 43.
 Susannah (Baker-Newton), 38.
 Thomas, 4, 13, 14, 26.
 Tyron, 32, 33, 36, 43.
 Warren Gamaliel, 7, 8, 9, 11, 41,
 43, 44.
 Welthy, 39, 43.
 Wilbur J., 6, 10, 11, 21, 27.
 William, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 44.
 William Oliver Perry, 41.
 William Tripp, 38.
 Harding,
 Coats of Arms, 3.
 Derivation of Name, 2-3.
 Participation in the Battle of Wyoming, 7.
 Variation of Name, 3.
 Hardin.
 Hardine.
 Hardineus.
 Hardineus filius Elnodi.
 Hardingus.
 Hardingus filius Alnodi.
 Hardinus.
 Harding genealogy, Campaign interest
 in, 1.
 By Amy (Harding), DeWitt, 5.
 By O. J. Harvey, 5.
 By W. G. Harding, 8.
 By W. J. Harding, 10.
 In N. Y. Sun, 7.
 In N. Y. Tribune, 7.
 "Hardings in America," by W. J. Hard-
 ing, 10.
 Hardy, Philip, 4.
 Harnden,
 Edward, 4.
 Richard, 4.
 Harris, Sarah, 14.
 Harrison Co., Mo., 40.
 Harvey, Oscar J., Harding genealogy
 by, 5.
 Hatherly, Timothy, 52.

- Hawkins,
 Lovina, 22.
 Sophia, 42.
- Hempstead, Joshua, 15.
- Herbert, Thomas M., lxiii.
- Hobbs, Harly, 33.
- Hoit, Jacob, 28.
- Hooker, Mary, 40.
- Hopkins,
 Francis, 18.
 Stephen, 182.
- Howe,
 Marcus, 58.
 Olive, 58.
- Hunt, Mrs. Grace (Lea), lxiv.
- Huron Co., Ohio, 39.
- I
- Indian-loving Catlin, 68-97.
- Indians,
 At Windsor, 76.
 In Paris, 77.
- J
- Jackson, Anna, 39.
- Jenkin's Fort, 19, 22, 23.
- Jervis, Port Jervis named for, 15.
- K
- Kennedy, Eugene, 33.
- Keystone, Iowa, 6.
- Kidder, Benjamin, 28.
- King, Rhoda, 17.
- Kleinduff,
 Ludwig, 61.
 Sarah (Washburn), 61.
- Kling, Florence, 43.
- L
- Lamellibranchs, Collection in Washington, D. C., 100-104.
- Lane, Rev. George, 187.
- Lapham,
 Elizabeth, 52.
 Joseph, 52.
 Lydia, 52.
 Mary, 52.
 Rebecca, 47, 51, 52.
 Thomas, 47, 52.
- LaPorte Co., Ind., 27, 39.
- Latham, Frances, 13.
- Lathrop, Eliza, 38.
- Lectures,
 1927, xii-xiii.
 1928, xxv-xxvi.
 1929, xxxvii-xxxix.
- Lewis,
 Abigail (Harding), 10.
 Ralph T., 10.
- Logan,
 Abraham, 40.
 Huldah (Harding), 40.
- Lott, Mary, 57.
- Louis Philippe, Visit to Wilkes-Barré, 78.
- Luzerne Co., Pa., 9, 25, 26, 27, 29, 44.
- Luzerne Co., Pa., Agitation for erection, 24.
- M
- McGowan, Isabenda, 41.
- MacKay, Alex., Purchase of Harding lot, 24.
- Mackey, ——, 33.
- McLean, William Swan, lxiv.
- Madison,
 Elizabeth, 4, 40.
 John, 40.
 Joseph, 40.
 Mary (Hooker), 40.
 Thomas, 40.
 William, 40.
- Magruder, Kenneth Dann, 181.
- Mahieu,
 Jennie, 49.
 Hester, 47, 49.
- Mamakating, 15, 18.
- Manuscripts, Report on location in Susquehanna Valley, xlvi-l.
- Marblehead, Mass., 4.
- Marion, Ohio, 9, 43.
- Marion County, Ohio, 39.
- Market Street bridges at Wilkes-Barré, Pa., 156-80.
- Marshman,
 Daniel, 42.
 Margaret Caroline (Harding), 42.
- Martindale, Minerva, 38.
- Mason, Susan, 38.
- Mass. Bay Colony, 20.
- Matlack, Granville T., lxiv.
- Membership, Roll of, lxviii-lxxvii.
- Miller,
 Adam, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37.
 Catherine, 61.
 Clara (Gardner), Preface.
 Daniel V., 42.
 Eleanor (Nicholson), 37.
 Nancy, 61.
 Sophia (Harding-Numbers), 42.
 William, 25.
- Miner, Charles, Poor Robert, 189-289.
- Miner, William Harvey, Catlin Bibliography, 83-97.
- Minisink, 15, 18, 25.
- Mitchell,
 Edward, 49.
 Elizabeth, 47, 48, 49.
 Experience, 47, 48, 49.
 Hannah, 49.
 Jacob, 49.
 Jane Cooke, 48.
 John, 49.
 Mary, 49.
 Phoebe A. (Harding), 42.
 Sarah, 49.
 Thomas, 42, 49.
- Montgomery Co., N. Y., 19.
- Moore,
 Ellen Taylor, 48.
 Margerie, 47, 48.
 Martin E., lxiv.
 Robert, 47, 48.
- Morris, Mulford, lxiv.
- Morse, Rev. Abner, Genealogical register by, 2.

- Mott,
 Adam, 47.
 Eleazer, 57.
 Elizabeth, 47, 56, 57.
 Gershon, 57.
 Jacob, 57.
 John, 57.
 Jonathan, 57.
 Sarah, 47, 57.
 Mt. Hope, 18.
 Murgas, Rev. Joseph, lxiv.
- N
- Naiadites, 98, 99, 100, 101.
 Necrology, lxi-lxvi.
 Nesbitt, John Maxwell, 29, 30, 31.
 New Haven, Conn., 4.
 New York State, Hardings in, 16.
 Newton, Susannah (Baker), 38.
 Nicholson, Eleanor, 37.
 Nicholson, Pa., 28, 29, 34.
 Nicholson Township, Petition for erection, 27-28.
 Non-Marine Shells of Upper Carboniferous rocks of N. A., 98-106.
 Norris, Robert VanArsdale, lxv.
 North Bloomfield, Ohio, 44.
 Numbers,
 Simon Ayres, 42.
 Sophia (Harding), 42.
- O
- Officers for 1930, ix.
 Ontario Co., N. Y., 26.
 Oram, George, 33.
 Orange Co., N. Y., 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26.
 Orr,
 Albert S., 185.
 Joseph, 185.
 Otis, Mary, 38.
 Otisville, 18.
- P
- Paine, Mary, 26, 34.
 Parker, Arthur C., 63.
 Parrish, Mrs. Ellen (Reets), lxv.
 Peck, _____, married daughter of Israel Harding, 14.
 Phillips,
 John, 18.
 Lydia (Tripp-Harding), 18.
 Pittston, Pa., 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 40.
 Pittston Fort, 18, 22, 23.
 Pittstown, *see* Pittston.
 Pocono Mt., 26.
 Poor Robert the Scribe, Essays, 189-289.
 Port Jervis, N. Y., 8, 9, 15.
 Pratt, Sylvanus, 58.
 President's Report,
 1927, vii-xvii.
 1928, xx-xxx.
 1929, xxxiv-xlv.
 Providence, R. I., 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 35.
- Q
- Quin, Robert A., lxv.
- R
- Raeber,
 John, 61.
 Sarah (Andreas), 61.
- Red Jacket, 63, 64, 67.
 Redstone, Pa., 13.
 Rehoboth, Mass., 12.
 Rein, Jane (Harding), 4.
 Reuss,
 Jacob, 11.
 Johann Christoph, 181.
See also Rice.
 Reynolds, Constance, 156.
 Rhodes, John, 61.
 Rice,
 Barbara, 183.
 Barbara (Schank), 181.
 Charles Lane, 181, 187.
 Charles Wells, 181.
 Hannah, 34.
 Jacob, 181-88.
 Epitaph, 188.
 Sarah (Cooke), 182.
 Epitaph, 188.
See also Reuss.
- Rice cemetery, 184.
 Rice's Hill, Edwardsville, 183.
 Richards, Mary, 13.
 Richland Co., Ohio, 9, 33, 38, 39, 40.
 Richmond,
 Abigail, 54.
 Ebenezer, 54.
 Edward, 47, 54, 56, 58.
 Elizabeth, 56.
 Enice, 56.
 George, 53.
 Henry, 47, 53.
 John, 47, 53, 54.
 Joseph, 54, 56.
 Josiah, 56.
 Mary, 47, 54, 56.
 Mercy, 47, 56.
 Nathaniel, 56.
 Phebe, 56.
 Priscilla, 56.
 Rebecca (Thurston), 58.
 Richard, 56.
 Samuel, 54.
 Sarah, 47, 52, 54, 56, 58.
 Seth, 56.
 Susanna, 54.
 Thomas, 54.
- Rider, Joseph, 28.
 Roberts,
 Anna, 36, 40.
 Ella, 40.
- Robinson,
 John, 28, 37.
 Victor S., lxv.
 William E., 31, 32, 33, 37.
- Rockland Co., N. Y., 15.
 Rogers,
 Abigail, 47, 54, 56.
 Ann (Churchman), 56.
 Anna, 56.
 Elizabeth, 56.
 Grace, 47, 55.
 James, 55.
 John, 47, 54, 55, 56.
 Joseph, 55.

Tryon,
 Abel, 20.
 Bridget (Curtis), 20.
 James, 20.
 Joseph, 20.
Tucker, Mrs. Martha (Sharpe), lxvii.
Tunkhannock creek, 28.

U

Ulster Co., N. Y., 15, 18.
Uncasville, Conn., 13.

V

Van Kirk,
 Charity Malvina, 42, 43.
Deborah (Walters), 43.

 Joseph, 42.

 William, 43.

Vibber, Mercy, 15.

W

Wallkill river, 16.
Warwick, R. I., 9, 13, 14.
Washburn,
 Abigail, 52.
 Barbara, (—), 62.
 Benjamin, 49.
 Caleb, 60, 62.
 Catherine, (—), 61.
 Daniel, 48, 60, 61, 62.
 Elisha, 58.
 Elizabeth, 49, 61.
 Elizabeth (Greenzweig), 61.
 Elizabeth (Mitchell), 49, 51.
 James, 49.
 Jane, 49.
 Jemima, 53.
 Jesse, 48, 58, 59, 60, 61.
 Joanna, 53.
 John, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52.
 Jonathan, 49.
 Joseph, 49, 52, 53.
 Josiah, 47, 52, 53, 58.
 Lydia, 53, 61.
 Martha (Stevens), 48.
 Mary, 48, 49, 53, 58, 61.
 Mercy, 53.
 Nancy, 61.
 Nathan, 53, 58.

Philip, 48.
Rebecca, 52, 53, 61.
Rebecca (Lapham), 52.
Rosina, 61.
Samuel, 52.
Sarah, 49, 61.
Sarah (Richmond), 58.
Silence, 47, 53, 58, 59, 61.
 American ancestry of, 48-62.

Susan, 61.

Thomas, 49, 52.

Thankful, 60, 61.

William, 52.

Washburn family diagram, 47.

Washington Co., Pa., 42, 43.

Waterford, Conn., 7, 20.

Watters, Deborah, 43.

Wawayanda, 16.

Webster,

 Amos G., 39.

 Hilah (Harding), 39.

 Mary, 39.

Wells,

 Hiram, 39.

 Welthy (Harding-Baker), 39.

Westmoreland, 19, 21.

Weymouth, Mass., 5, 6.

Wheat, Anna, 38.

Wilkes-Barre, 18.

Wilkes-Barre, Visited by Louis Philippe, 78.

Williams, Anthony L., lxvii.

Wilson, Naomi, 39.

Woodring, Mrs. William, 60.

Woodruff, Samuel, 28.

Wyant, Lydia Frances (Harding), 43.

Wyllis,

 George (Gov.), 4.

 Hester, 4.

Wyoming, 18, 19, 24, 26.

 Harding participation in Battle of, 7.
Wyoming National Bank. Establishment, 185.

Wyoming Valley, 6, 7, 8, 18, 21, 26, 29, 34.

Y

Youngblood, Mrs. Sarah (Nixon), lxvii.







